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STATEMENT
RESPECTING
THE EARL OF SELKIRK'S
Settlement of Kildonan,
UPON
THE RED RIVER, IN NORTH AMERICA ;

ITS DESTRUCTION

IN THE YEARS 1815 AND 1816;

AND

THE MASSACRE

OF

GOVERNOR SEMPLE AND HIS PARTY.

LONDON:

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AS most of the Depositions which accompany the following Statement contain separate narratives of what occurred at the Red River, in the Years 1815 and 1816, it has been found difficult (particularly as to the transactions in the former year,) to make minute references in the Appendix, with regard to facts, stated by the deponents in various parts of their affidavits.—It has, therefore, been thought advisable, in some instances, to refer to them more generally, as at page 32, &c.

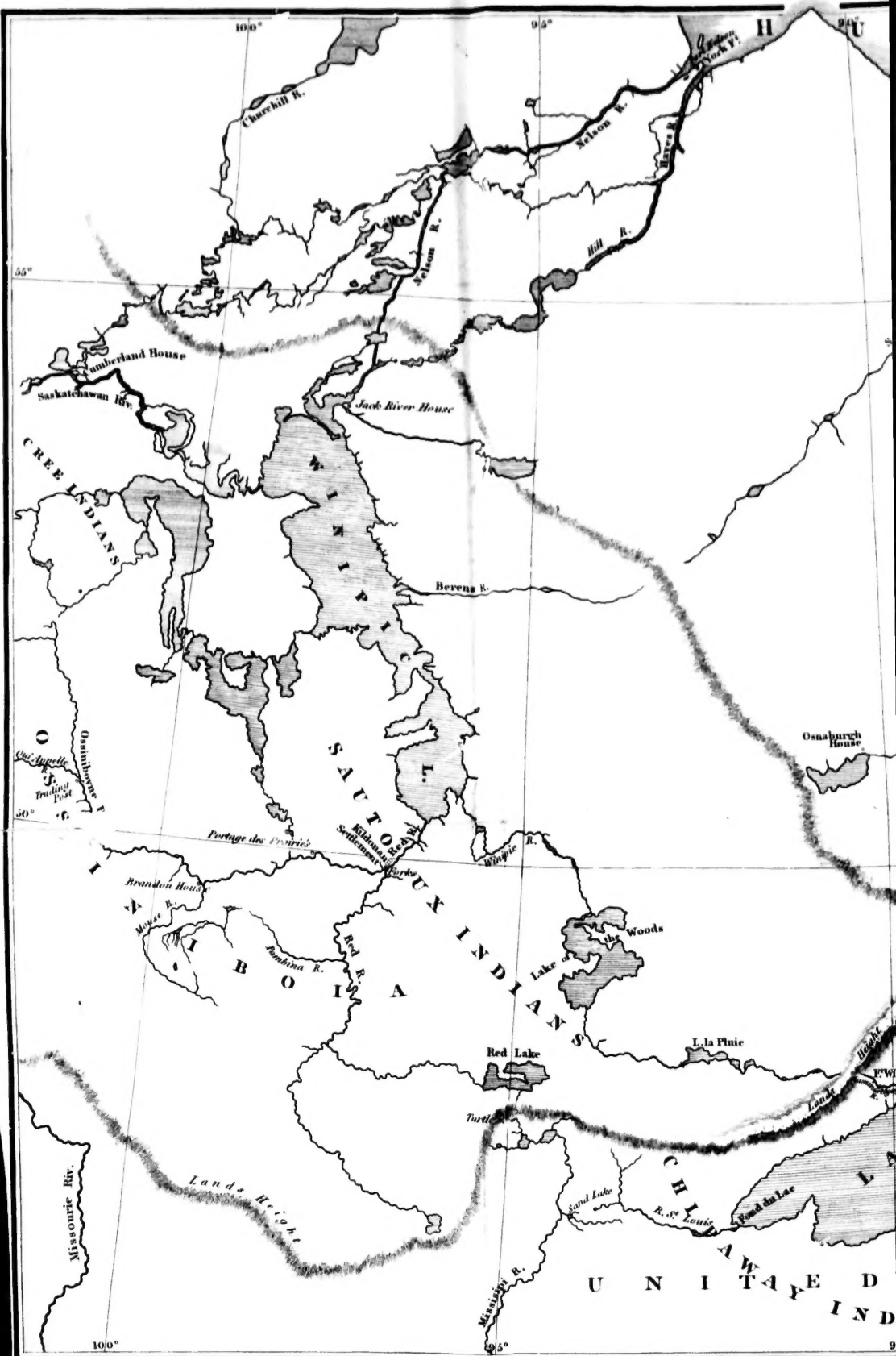
In other cases, the particular Depositions are referred to, and the pages of the Appendix are also sometimes noted, for the purpose of more convenient reference.

LONDON, January 1817.

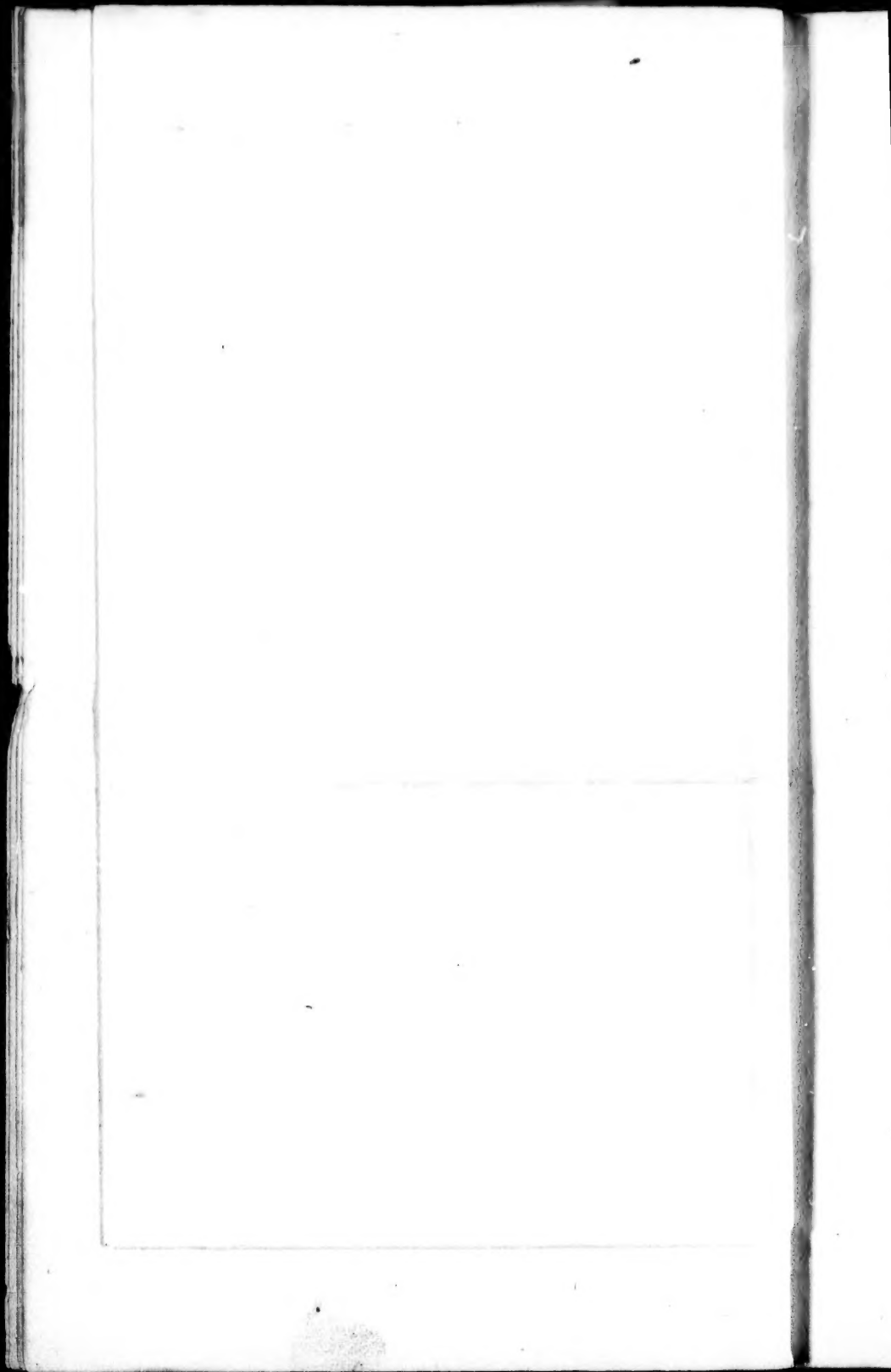
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STATEMENT, &c.

THE plans of colonization, promoted by the Earl of Selkirk in British North America, have, for some time past, given rise to much, and gross, misrepresentation. More than common pains have been taken, by his opponents, to mislead, and prejudice, the public;—but such attempts, when the opportunity for strict investigation arrives, can have no other effect than to recoil upon those whose studied object has been to calumniate an individual, and conceal the truth. It is therefore extremely desirable that the real circumstances of the case should be better understood, and that the true nature, and extent of those extraordinary acts, by which his plans have hitherto been thwarted, should be developed. The documents which I have to produce, and the facts which I am enabled to state, cannot fail to throw

much light upon the subject. These I shall endeavour to submit as clearly, and concisely, as possible,—but it will be requisite to trace them shortly from their commencement.

In doing so, I conceive, it will not be necessary for me to enter upon the general subject of the emigrations from this country to North America ; or the views of the Earl of Selkirk in forming that settlement which has been the object of such enmity and misrepresentation. — His Lordship's sentiments on the general question of emigration have been long before the public ; and, since he first drew its attention, in 1805, to this important subject, a marked change has taken place, not only in the opinions of many of those who then disagreed with him, but also in the conduct of Government, which has, of late years, humanely afforded every reasonable facility for the conveyance, to our own colonies, of those emigrants (chiefly from Ireland and Scotland,) who were but too much disposed to settle in the United States.

The Earl of Selkirk having, in the year 1811, obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company, a grant of land within the territory bestowed upon them by their Charter, proceeded, in conformity with one of the principal objects of the conveyance, to establish agricultural settlers upon the lands he had so obtained.—The right to the soil, as vested in the Company, and the legality of the grant, were

fully supported by the opinions of several of the most eminent counsel in England,—of Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. (now Mr. Justice) Holroyd, Mr. Cruise, Mr. Scarlett, and Mr. Bell*.—His Lordship therefore proceeded, without delay, to make the requisite arrangements for the proposed settlement.—The Hudson's Bay Company, as empowered by their Charter, appointed Mr. Miles Macdonell, formerly Captain of the Queen's Rangers, to be Governor of the district of Ossiniboia, within which the settlement was to be formed, and the same gentleman was nominated, by the Earl of Selkirk, to superintend the colony, and take charge of the settlers.

In the autumn of the following year, (1812), Mr. Miles Macdonell, with a small party, arrived at the spot which had been selected for the settlement.—He immediately proceeded to erect houses, and make every necessary preparation for the arrival of the first detachment of settlers, which was soon expected. The situation which had been chosen for the colony was on the banks of the Red River, (lat. 50° North, long. 97° West of London,) about forty or fifty miles from its entrance into Lake Winipic, and near its confluence with the Ossiniboyne River.—At the beginning of the year 1813, the settlement consisted of about an

* See Appendix, [A.]

hundred persons.—In June 1814, they received an addition of fifty more, and in September following, the total number of settlers, and labourers, amounted to about two hundred.—In the course of the same year, between eighty and ninety additional emigrants, from the Highlands of Scotland, arrived at Hudson's Bay, for the purpose of proceeding to the settlement, having been induced to join their friends and relations at Red River, from the favourable accounts which the latter had transmitted to them, of the lands upon which they were settling, and the flattering prospects that awaited them.—This last mentioned party, however, did not arrive at the settlement till after it was broken up, for the first time, as shall be noticed in the sequel.

From the commencement of the Red River settlement until the winter 1814-15, and the following spring, there occurred nothing of any material importance to interrupt the progress of this infant colony*.—The difficulties, which were in some degree unavoidable at the beginning of an establishment of that nature, were happily got over.—The heads of families, as they arrived, were put in possession of regular lots of land, which they immediately began to cultivate;—houses were

* It was named the *Kildonan Settlement*, from the name of the parish, in the county of Sutherland, from whence the greater part of the settlers had emigrated.

built; a mill was erected; sheep and cattle were sent up to the settlement; and all practicable means were taken to forward the agricultural purposes of the colony. The spot which had been selected, had been ascertained to be of the highest fertility, and of the most easy cultivation. Though woods abounded in the neighbourhood, containing a variety of the finest timber, yet no trees were required to be cut down, or roots to be cleared away, from the lands that were appropriated to husbandry.—The expensive and tedious operation of clearing away heavy woods, before the ground can be tilled, (a measure indispensable in most of the new settlements in North America) was totally unnecessary upon the banks of the Red River:—the plough, from the first, met with no obstruction, and the soil proved in the highest degree rich and productive.—The climate had long been ascertained to be equal to that of any part of Canada, and with less snow in the winter.—The river abounded with fish, the extensive plains with buffaloe, and the woods with elk, deer, and game. The hunting grounds of the Indians were not at all interfered with; and, by the terms of the grant, both the grantee, and those who held under him as settlers, were entirely precluded from being concerned in the fur trade. The district indeed had already been almost exhausted of those animals, whose furs are so valuable.—The neighbouring

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tribes of Indians (the Sautoux) proved, from the first, to be friendly, and well-disposed.—Serious attempts indeed had been made, as early as the spring of 1813, by the clerks and interpreters employed by the fur traders from Montreal, to instigate the natives against the settlers.—The Indians were told by these persons, that it was intended to deprive them of their hunting grounds, and that, if the establishment at the Red River once obtained a firm footing, the natives would be made slaves of by the colonists.—These attempts to alienate the good will of the natives from the settlers appeared, at first, to have an alarming effect, producing menaces, and jealousy, on the part of their Indian neighbours.—Mr. Miles Macdonell, the governor of the district, soon found means, however, of doing away the unfavourable impressions which had been raised.—He held conferences with the Sautoux tribes, and not only succeeded in obtaining the continuance of their friendship, but also the promise of their supreme chief to encourage the Indians of Lake la Pluie to draw nearer towards the Red River, for the purpose of planting Indian corn, and establishing villages.—From this period the Indians, in the neighbourhood, were upon the most friendly footing with the colonists, and continued so to the last without interruption.—There appeared, therefore, nothing likely to occur which would impede the settlers in their agricultural

pursuits, nor were they themselves apprehensive of any molestation.—The Earl of Selkirk, at the commencement of the settlement, had sent up some light brass field-pieces, swivels, and muskets, for its protection; and an additional quantity of arms and ammunition, which had been furnished by Government for the defence of the colony, was received there in the summer of 1814.—In short, the settlers appeared confident of their security, contented with their situation, and happy in their prospects: nor did there exist any reasonable ground to doubt, that, if left undisturbed, the colony, in a few years would have been completely, and firmly, established.—This indeed, must have been the decided opinion, at the time, even of those who proved to be its most inveterate opponents, otherwise they never would have thought it necessary to take violent means to destroy it.—Had the settlement been likely to fail from causes inherent in its nature, or arising from the remoteness of its situation, or other local circumstances, its enemies (and none were better judges than they) would doubtless have left it to its fate; and, remaining passive spectators of its destruction, would gladly have permitted the colony to die a natural death, instead of incurring anxiety, expense, and the risk of the vengeance of the law, by adopting those active measures, to which they resorted, for the purpose of strangling it in its infancy.—By the enemies

of this colony, I mean the North-West Company of Fur Traders at Montreal,—whose hostility to the settlement, and outrages against their fellow-subjects, have been carried to a pitch so dreadful, as almost to surpass belief. It may be proper, in a few words, to trace their enmity from its commencement*.

When the question of granting to the Earl of Selkirk an extensive tract of land within their territory was first agitated by the Hudson's Bay Company, a general court of proprietors was called for the purpose of discussing the measure.—This meeting was held in May 1811,—and, in order to give the proprietors a further opportunity of making themselves fully informed of the nature of the proposed measure, an adjournment of the court took place; notice, in the mean while, being given to all the stock-holders, that the terms of the proposed grant were left at the Secretary's office for their inspection. At the adjourned general meeting, the proposition was discussed, and adopted.—A memorial, however, or protest, was

* Although the North-West Fur Traders of Montreal commonly go by the name of a *Company*, they are not a chartered body.—An account of the origin and constitution of this powerful association may be seen in a pamphlet lately published by the Earl of Selkirk, entitled, "A Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America," &c. &c.

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entered against the measure, and signed by six of the proprietors.—In perusing this document, a superficial observer would have been led to conclude, that those who protested had no object so dear to them, as the welfare, and prosperity, of the Hudson's Bay Company.—They seemed, with the most friendly attention, to warn the Company of the errors into which they were falling, and the injuries, which would infallibly accrue to them, from the adoption of the measure in question;—above all, they feelingly regretted that those emigrant settlers, who might eventually be established within the district so granted, would be placed “out of the reach of all those aids and “comforts, which are derived from civil society.”—The sincerity, however, of these regrets could not fail to appear dubious, when the signatures to the protest were inspected.—Of the six who signed it, three were persons closely connected with, and interested in, the rival commercial concerns of the North-West Company of Montreal; and two of the three were, at the very time, avowed London agents to that Company.—The latter had only become proprietors of Hudson's Bay stock about eight and forty hours before the general meeting last alluded to. They were not indeed possessed of it long enough to entitle them to give any vote at the meeting; but their names being now entered in the Company's books, though the ink was

scarcely dry with which they were inserted,—a right, it seems, was thereby conveyed to them to find fault with every thing that was doing, and formally to protest against measures to which the committee of directors, unanimously, and the general court of proprietors, by a great majority, and on full deliberation, had given their sanction.—As far as these agents therefore were concerned, it was not very unreasonable to view, with suspicion, the alleged grounds of their protest, as well as the motives of the admonition which it purported to contain.—Their object indeed in making the purchase could scarcely be mistaken;—and, however circuitous the proceeding might be, it was evident that they had thus become proprietors of one commercial Company for the indirect purpose of benefiting another, and a rival, establishment.

With regard to the grounds of this protest, as affecting the subject of the grant to the Earl of Selkirk, it would be an idle task to notice the geographical, and other, blunders with which it abounded.—Had the whole matter of it indeed been confined to that single assertion in which the protesters observe “Besides it has been found “that colonization is at all times unfavourable to “the fur trade”—it would have disclosed at once, and in substance, the true cause of their alarm.—This apprehension with respect to the effect which colonization might produce upon their

trade, formed the ground of that hostility, which, even then, became apparent towards the proposed settlement; and we shall see that the North-West Fur Traders of Montreal, did take effectual measures, from the time of this protest, not only to keep all agricultural settlers in Ossiniboia "out of the reach of those aids and comforts which are derived from civil society,"—but that many of them afterwards entered into a systematic combination, for the purpose of dispersing the colonists, and destroying every vestige of the settlement.

The plans adopted for this scheme of destruction, appear to have been arranged at the annual meeting of the North-West Company's partners, in the summer of 1814, at their trading post, called Fort William, on Lake Superior*.—Information had, in the course of that season, been transmitted to the Earl of Selkirk, (but which he did not receive till the beginning of the following year,) that serious apprehensions were entertained of hostility from the natives, and that the Indians were likely to make an attack upon the settlement. This information came from a person whose veracity was above suspicion; and who, although holding an

* In general, the houses, or trading posts, in the interior of the Indian country, and also in the Hudson's Bay territories, are termed *Forts*, being usually surrounded with stockades for security.

interest in the concerns of the North-West Company, had, much to his honour, determined not to conceal the opinion he entertained on the subject.—The suspicions, however, which had arisen with respect to hostility from the Indians, proved, in the result, unfounded.—The attack came from another, but not less savage, description of enemies.

Among the partners of the North-West Company, who received their instructions from the general annual meeting at Fort William, in the summer of 1814, were a Mr. Duncan Cameron, and Mr. Alexander M'Donell, and these appear to have been the persons selected by the partnership, to superintend, and execute, the plans entered into against the Red River colony.—Upon the 5th of August in that year, the latter writes to his friend at Montreal, (also a partner of the Company,) from one of the portages lying between Lake Superior, and the place of his winter destination in the interior, and to which he was then proceeding.—His letter, from which the following is an extract, speaks a language that cannot be misunderstood:—
 “ You see myself and our mutual friend, Mr.
 “ Cameron, so far on our way to commence open
 “ hostilities against the enemy in Red River.—
 “ Much is expected from us if we believe some—
 “ perhaps too much.—One thing certain, that we
 “ will do our best to defend what we *consider* our
 “ rights in the interior.—Something serious will

"undoubtedly take place. Nothing but the complete downfall of the colony will satisfy some by fair or foul means—a most desirable object if it can be accomplished.—So here is at them with all my heart and energy*."

Mr. M'Donell, and his co-partner, accordingly proceeded towards their destination, and arrived, about the end of August, at a trading post (called by them Fort Gibraltar) belonging to the North-West Company, situated at the Forks, within half a mile of the Red River settlement.—This station I believe had never before been honoured with the regular residence of a partner of the Company; but the duties now required were, it seems, too important to be entrusted to subordinate agents.—Mr. Duncan Cameron remained at the Forks during the autumn, winter, and ensuing spring. His partner, Mr. Alexander M'Donell, proceeded further into the interior, where he continued until the month of May, when he returned to the Forks, bringing with him a party of the Cree Indians from a considerable distance, for the purpose (as we shall see afterwards) of inducing them to assist in driving away the settlers from Red River.

Cameron, to whom his partners appear to have

* The rest of this letter, relating to private and domestic matters, is, of course, omitted.—The original, in the handwriting of, and signed by, Alexander M'Donell, is in safe custody.

confided the important charge of opposing, upon the spot, the further progress of colonization, seems to have been fitly qualified to perform the service for which he had been selected. He began by ingratiating himself among several of the heads of families at the settlement; and being able to converse with many of them in their native Gaelic tongue, he, by degrees, gained the confidence and good opinion of the Highlanders.—He frequently invited them to his house, entertained them and their families at his table, and treated them in a manner far superior to what they were accustomed to in their own habitations. He took every possible means to secure their favour; nor did they see any reason to be suspicious of his intentions towards them. The influence, which he gradually acquired over many of them during the autumn and winter, was artfully exerted to make them discontented with their employments, dissatisfied with their superiors, and doubtful of their prospects at the settlement.—He alarmed them with constant reports, which he stated he had received from the interior, that the Indians from a distance were coming in the spring to attack them; and that, unless they placed themselves under the protection of the North-West Company, and accepted his offers to take them to Canada, they would never be able to escape from the country, or avoid the dangers that surrounded them.—In order to give himself an appearance of superiority and com-

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mand, he pretended to bear a regular king's commission, ostentatiously wearing an uniform of the *Voyageur Corps*; a short-lived regiment, which had two years before ceased to exist, and in which, I believe, he never had a commission.—In his written communications with the settlers he subscribed his name "D. Cameron, Captain, Voyageur Corps, Commanding Officer, Red River."—And, in order the better to confirm their belief, he conspicuously placed on the gate of his trading post, a paper purporting to be an order appointing him (Cameron) a captain; his partner, Mr. M'Donell, a lieutenant; and one of the North-West Company's Canadian clerks, of the name of Seraphim Lamar, an ensign, in that Corps;—and the order sanctioning these commissions, purported to be signed in August 1814, by Colonel M'Dowal, the commandant at Michillimackinack*.

* The Earl of Selkirk having thought it advisable to ascertain if there existed any foundation for supposing that these persons were entitled to the commissions they assumed, applied some time afterwards (in March 1816) to Sir Gordon Drummond, then administering the government of Canada, requesting to know whether it appeared that his predecessor, Sir George Prevost, "had given authority to the commandant "at Michillimackinack to issue commissions to persons in the "Upper Country as officers in the Voyageur, or any other "corps, and the nature and extent of the authority so granted," adding, "that the inquiry was of material consequence, as he "had the strongest ground to believe, or rather that he had

This imposture on the part of Cameron, and these assumed airs of trust and importance, which, in other situations, would perhaps have only raised

“ unquestionable information, that several persons were at that
 “ moment making a very improper use of the name of his
 “ Majesty, under the pretext of some such authority; and that,
 “ for the same reason, he was desirous of learning the nature
 “ and objects of the commissions which appeared to have been
 “ granted to some gentlemen as *Major des tribus sauvages, et*
 “ *des pays conquis.*” —Sir Gordon Drummond in reply, informed
 his Lordship that “ having caused research to be made in the
 “ Military Secretary’s Office, it did not appear that any autho-
 “ rity to issue commissions to persons in the Upper Country as
 “ officers of the Voyageurs, or any other corps, was at any period
 “ vested in the officer commanding at St. Joseph, or Michilli-
 “ mackinack; but that a general order of the 10th of May,
 “ 1814, gave to Norman M’Leod, Esq. the rank of Major; a
 “ subsequent general Order of the 29th of May, 1814, the rank
 “ of Lieutenant-Colonel to Mr. M’Gillivray; and the general
 “ Order of the 7th of September following, the rank of Major to
 “ Pierre Rochblave, Esq. in the Indian and conquered coun-
 “ tries.”

In reply, his Lordship observes, “ I have to acknowledge
 “ the honour of your Excellency’s letter of the 1st, and to
 “ return my thanks for the very satisfactory information
 “ which it contains, from which it appears evident, that the
 “ persons, who, under the pretence of being officers in the
 “ Corps of Voyageurs, are taking upon themselves to act in
 “ his Majesty’s name in the Indian country, must be consi-
 “ dered as mere impostors.—As the imposture has been
 “ carried to a very great length, and has been made to serve
 “ the worst of purposes, I beg leave to submit to your Excel-
 “ lency, whether some public declaration ought not to be
 “ made by the Provincial Government in order to put an end

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calculated to mislead the uninformed persons whom
it was his object, by every method, to delude, and
who had not the means of ascertaining that he was,
in no shape, entitled to the rank or commission he
pretended to bear.—The settlers concluding that
he was, in some manner, sanctioned by Government,
naturally put more confidence in his advice, and
reliance on his promises, than they otherwise might

"to so dangerous a delusion. With respect to the gentlemen
"who have been commissioned as officers *des pays conquis*,
"*et des tribus sauvages*,—I presume that the late Governor-
"General must have had in view some temporary organiza-
"tion for the American Territory, which came into our pos-
"session by the capture of Michillimackinack, and the resto-
"ration of that territory at the peace must, of course, have
"superseded the whole of these commissions."—In place,
however, of any further inquiry being instituted by the Go-
vernor-General of Canada for putting a stop to the proceed-
ing complained of, he merely states in his answer to his
Lordship, (dated 13th of the same month) that "the public
having been already duly apprized by the general Order of
the Governor-in-Chief, dated 12th of March, 1813, of the
reduction and discharge of the late Corps of Voyageurs, any
farther declaration on the part of the Provincial Government
relating to that corps must be deemed unnecessary."—
The issuing a general Order in the year 1813, for the reduction
of a military corps, and which Order had obviously been dis-
regarded by those who did not wish to yield obedience to it,
appears certainly a singular reason for deeming it unneces-
sary, in the year 1816, to endeavour to enforce it.

have done.—These promises he dealt out in great profusion.—To each of the settlers he engaged to give a free passage to Canada (generally to Montreal), a twelve months' provisions gratis for themselves and their families, an allotment to each of two hundred acres of land, and every other encouragement they could hope for. To many of them pecuniary bribes were held out as an inducement to desertion.—One of the principal settlers was offered several hundred pounds if he would abandon the settlement with his family, which he refused*.—Others of them actually received considerable sums for a similar object.—One of them (George Campbell, who was the first to desert from the colony, and proved most active in its subsequent destruction) received one hundred pounds as a reward for his treachery†.—Various other sums were paid to the deserters, or credited in accounts subsequently made up for them, by the North-West Company in Canada.—The labourers and contracted servants at the settlement (generally under contract for three years service) were also seduced by similar means, with the additional lure of high wages, and great encouragement in the Canadas.—Many of these were prevailed upon to desert before the expiration of their contracts, and to carry away with them the implements of husbandry, and work-

* See Appendix, [P.] and [S.]

† See Appendix, [S.]; also page 35.

ing tools, which had been provided for them, and which were afterwards purchased by the North-West Company.—It is unnecessary to dwell any longer upon the means adopted by Cameron to seduce the settlers from the Red River, and with which he proved but too successful. Several of them, as has been stated, joined him in the course of the winter, and most of the others secretly engaged to abandon the settlement in the following spring.

In spite, however, of the success which had thus far attended the secret operations of Mr. Cameron, he knew that there was a considerable party in the colony which was neither to be allured by his arts, nor intimidated by the report of threatened hostility from the Indians. But as the North-West Company were resolved to adopt no half-measures in putting a stop to colonization, it was necessary for Cameron to have recourse to some more active plan of hostility. He cordially agreed with his friend and co-adjutor, M'Donell, that "nothing but the complete downfall of the colony would satisfy some by fair means or foul;"—and, like him therefore, he commenced his operations—with "all his heart and energy."

As the native Indians were not to be induced to act hostilely against the settlers, recourse was had to the aid of a lawless description of banditti, technically termed, in that country, *Metiffs*, *Bois-Brulés*, or *half-breeds*.—These are the illegiti-

mate progeny of the partners, agents, traders, clerks, voyageurs, and servants, of the North-West Company, by Indian women.—They have always been much under the control of that Company, by whom they are frequently employed as hunters, chiefly for provisions,—an occupation in which they are very expert; hunting and shooting the buffalo on horseback. The Company also employs them occasionally in other temporary services; and some of them are engaged in their regular employment as clerks, having received in Canada an education fitted to qualify them for that situation.—Another description of persons was also made use of, who are termed *Free Canadians*. These are principally retired servants and traders of the North-West Company, who have remained in various parts of the interior, and whose services are still occasionally wanted by that Company.—When the colony was first established upon the Red River, these Free Canadians, as well as the Brulés, or half-breeds, were on good terms with the settlers.—Some of the former had even taken regular lots of land which they began to cultivate, and the latter were occasionally employed by the colonists in hunting for them, and collecting provisions.—But when it was decided that the anathema pronounced in this country against colonization, as being “at all times unfavourable to the fur trade,” was to be carried into effect; and that the settlement was no longer to be allowed to exist; the services per-

formed by the half-breeds to the colonists were put a stop to. They were directed to harrass the settlers by every means in their power,—to straghten them in provisions, and to drive the buffaloe from the plains.—From this period, therefore, their hostility to the settlement was as marked as that of their employers, and they subsequently became the principal instruments which were made use of in its destruction.

To prevent any effectual resistance on the part of the principal officers, and the other settlers who were not to be seduced by Cameron, it appeared a material object, previous to any attack upon the colony, to get possession of the arms which had been furnished by Government, as well as by the Earl of Selkirk, for its protection. After several of the settlers, therefore, had deserted, and the greater part of the others appeared ready to join him, Cameron issued the following order, addressed to Mr. Archibald M'Donald, who, in the temporary absence of Mr. Miles Macdonell, had then the charge of the settlement.

" FORKS OF RED RIVER,
" 3rd April, 1815.

" MR. ARCHIBALD M'DONALD,

" SIR,

" As your field-pieces have already been
" employed to disturb the peace of his Majesty's loyal
" subjects in this quarter, and even to stop up the
" King's highway, I have authorised the settlers to

“ take possession of them, and to bring them over
 “ here, not with a view to make any hostile use of
 “ them, but merely to put them out of harm’s way.—
 “ Therefore I expect that you will not be so wanting
 “ to yourselves as to attempt any useless resistance, as
 “ no one wishes you, or any of your people, any harm.

“ I am, SIR,

“ Your very obedient Servant,

“ D. CAMERON,

“ *Captain, Voyageur Corps,*

“ *Commanding Officer, R. R.*”

“ *To Mr. Archibald M'Donald,*
 “ *Red River Settlement.*”

This singular production was delivered to George Campbell, the most active of those who had previously deserted, and who read it on the Sunday he received it to several of the settlers, after they had been assembled to have a sermon read to them as usual on that day.—On the following morning the settlers and servants collected at the store-house to have their fortnight’s allowance of provisions delivered out to them, after which George Campbell, with several others, repaired to the Governor’s house in the colony, and formally delivered to Mr. M'Donald the order signed by Cameron; and while he (Mr. M'Donald) and the other principal officers of the settlement were forcibly prevented from leaving the house, the store-house was broken open, and the field-pieces, together with the swivels, and a small howitzer, in all

nine in number, were seized and taken out of the store.—A musket was then fired by one of the party as a signal, when Cameron, with some armed men, immediately came out of a lurking-place where he had concealed himself, (with a view, no doubt, of aiding the depredators should they have stood in need of his assistance,) and joined the party within thirty or forty yards of the store-house. Among the banditti who attended him were two clerks, and an interpreter, in the regular employment of the North-West Company, —*Bois-Brulés*, named Cuthbert Grant, William Shaw, and Peter Pangman, commonly called Bostonois. After Cameron had joined the party who had broken into the store-house, he congratulated them upon the success of their enterprise, and conducted them all, with the guns they had stolen, to his station at the Forks, where the plunder was deposited in the North-West Company's store, and the party regaled by their leader*.

* On Mr. Miles Macdonell's return to the settlement, shortly after this robbery, he granted a warrant to search for, and recover, the stolen property; and sent several of the principal settlers, and about twenty persons with them, to the North-West Company's station for that purpose.—Mr. Duncan Cameron would only permit four of the party to enter within the stockades, and upon the warrant being produced, and read to him, he said he would neither allow search to be made, nor the property to be taken; that the guns and other articles were under his charge, and he would take care to keep them.—It was in vain to attempt to execute the warrant, as a

After this robbery, those of the settlers, who had, for some time resolved to quit the Red River, went over to the Forks; many of them carrying with them the government muskets which had been issued to them, the guns, and arms which Lord Selkirk had likewise provided, and which, (as well as various other articles, belonging to his Lordship, such as implements of husbandry, &c.) were afterwards purchased by the North-West Company, who could not but have known they were stolen.— One of the labourers belonging to the settlement, who had assisted in breaking open and plundering the store-house, having been apprehended by Mr. Archibald M'Donald, a large armed party from the Forks, led by George Campbell, together with the North-West Company's clerks and servants, Cuthbert Grant, William Shaw, Bostonois, and Bouché, broke into the governor's house, presented their pistols at Mr. M'Donald, and the other officers of the settlement, and rescued the prisoner. Shaw declared to Mr. M'Donald that this was done by Cameron's order.—But it would require no such declaration to satisfy any one that these additional acts of aggression could never have been committed by those in the service of the North-West Company, had they not been directed by their superiors to commit them.

number of the servants of the North-West Company were drawn up armed on each side, mostly with muskets and fixed bayonets.

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Mr. Miles Macdonell, the governor of the district, returned about this time to resume his charge at the settlement. A warrant to arrest him had been issued some time before by one of the partners of the company, Mr. Norman M'Leod, a magistrate for the Indian territory, on a charge of feloniously taking a quantity of provisions belonging to that Company; but Mr. Macdonell did not think fit to acknowledge the jurisdiction, or yield to the warrant*. In consequence of this refusal, threats were repeatedly made by Cameron, that if he (Mr. Macdonell) was not delivered up by the settlers, or did not surrender himself, the colonists should be attacked.—These threats were partially carried into execution, and several of the settlers were fired at by Cameron's people.

About the middle of May, Mr. Alexander M'Donell, (Cameron's partner, the mock Lieutenant of the Voyageur Corps,) arrived at the Forks from his winter station in the interior, and brought down with him a party of the Cree Indians from the River Qu'Appelle, several hundred miles further up the country, for the purpose, no doubt, of verifying the predictions of his co-adjutor, who had so often declared to the settlers that the remote Indians were determined to attack them in the spring.—These Crees were detained for a short time at the Forks, and generally kept in a state of

* For an explanation of this transaction, see Appendix, [B.]

intoxication. While they remained there, about a dozen of the horses belonging to the settlement were shot with arrows in the night-time, but it was supposed they were killed by the Brulés under Cameron's direction, and not by the Indians.—The chief of the party, an old man, found means to get over, without Cameron's permission, to the settlement, and declared to Mr. Miles Macdonell that, although they had been brought from their own country for the express purpose of assisting in driving away the settlers, he was resolved not to molest them.—The Crees indeed seem to have been a somewhat more civilized race than their employers.—They returned to their own country not very well pleased with their errand; but, previous to their departure, they sent the pipe of peace to the colony as an assurance of their friendship.

About the same period, another, and more formidable attempt was made to instigate the Indians from a different and distant quarter to fall upon the Red River settlement.—A Cheppewa Chief of Sand Lake has declared before the Council of the Indian Department in Canada that he was offered in the spring of 1815, for himself and his people, all the goods at three of the North-West Company's trading posts, if he would go with his warriors down to the Red River settlement, and declare war against the settlers: but he refused*.—

* See Appendix, [U.]

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The reports, therefore, of intended hostility from the Indians, so often urged by Cameron to the settlers as an inducement to abandon the Red River, do not appear to have been altogether an empty rumour, or entirely destitute of probability; but if there did exist any chance of such attack, it was certainly an act of the most consummate villany to rob the settlers of those arms which had been provided for their defence, and to deprive them of the only means left them for protection against Indian ferocity*.

The servants and others employed by the North-West Company began now to collect in considerable numbers towards the Red River, and these together with the half-breeds and most of those, who had abandoned the colony, formed a camp at some distance down the River, where they mounted some of the guns they had pillaged from the settlement. Every annoyance was now directed towards the remaining settlers, and measures of active hostility appeared to be preparing against them. The Canadian clerks and servants, together with the Brulés, were occasionally paraded under

* Cameron not only aided, as already mentioned, in plundering by force the colony of its means of defence, but availed himself of his assumed commission to deprive the settlers of their arms.—The following is a specimen of his *orders* for this purpose.—“I do hereby order James M'Kay and George Sutherland to give up their muskets in the King's name.

(Signed)

“DUNCAN CAMERON, V. C.”

the immediate inspection of the Company's partners at their station at the Forks; and matters seemed now to be drawing towards a crisis.

On the morning of Sunday, the 14th of June (a day in which it might have been hoped some little rest from their troubles would have been allowed to the harrassed settlers) a number of loaded muskets, together with ammunition, were delivered out of the stores of the North-West Company to their clerks, servants, and followers, for the purpose of an immediate attack upon the colony. Seraphim Lamar (the *Voyageur Ensign*), Cuthbert Grant, William Shaw, and Peter Pangman Bostonois formed, as usual, part of this banditti. They marched from the North-West Company's post, and stationed themselves in a small wood adjoining the governor's house which was the principal building in the settlement. They began their operations by firing a shot at Mr. White, the surgeon, who was walking near the house, and which fortunately missed him. Another shot was at the same time fired at Mr. Bourke, the store-keeper, and the ball passed close to him. A general firing then commenced from the wood, which was returned by those in the house, four of whom were wounded, and one of whom (Mr. Warren) died of his wounds.—After the party had kept up their fire for a considerable time, they returned with Cameron, who, shortly after they had left the Forks, had followed them armed, and who, on their return,

congratulated them with much satisfaction on the result of their exploit, and on their personal safety ; —a circumstance which was not very surprising, considering that, during the attack, they were concealed in a wood, not one of them being visible to those upon whom they were firing.

After this cowardly, and unprovoked attack, it would have been idle in the remaining officers and settlers of the colony to have supposed they would be permitted to remain in security.—It was given out by Cameron that he was resolved to have possession of Mr. Miles Macdonell, dead or alive; but that if he would surrender himself quietly, or if the settlers would give him up, all further hostility should cease*.—What was this but an acknowledgment on the part of Cameron that measures of hostility depended solely upon his will?—At length Mr. Miles Macdonell, at the persuasion of the other officers of the settlement, in order to prevent the further effusion of blood, and in the hope of securing the remaining settlers from future violence, surrendered himself to the warrant.—He was soon afterwards carried down to Montreal (about 2,500 miles) to be tried ;—but no trial has ever taken place.

The remaining settlers at Red River were, however, much mistaken in supposing that the surrender

* For a specimen of Mr. Cameron's correspondence with the settlers, see Appendix, [C.]

of Mr. Miles Macdonell was to ensure to them future security.—It was of course a most important object for their opponents to get the principal person of the settlement (and one who also held the appointment from the Hudson's Bay Company, of governor of the district) into custody; but having once got possession of him, the mask was thrown off; and peremptory orders were issued by Cameron, directing the remaining settlers to leave the Red River. These orders were followed up by the most wanton acts of aggression under the direction of Mr. Alexander M'Donell, who, after Cameron's departure with his prisoner, succeeded to the command at the Forks. The remaining settlers were frequently fired at by his people; the farm-house belonging to the settlement was broken open and pillaged; several of the servants and labourers, quietly employed in tillage, were forcibly seized and detained as prisoners; the horses were stolen, the cattle driven away, and the bull belonging to the settlement was killed and cut up in the presence of Alexander M'Donell himself.—He also made a sort of battery opposite the settlement, upon which he mounted two of the field-pieces they had stolen, and established a camp of about fifty or sixty of the Canadian servants, clerks, Bois-Brulés, &c. &c.—Such were the modes this partner adopted of defending, as he termed it in his letter of the 5th of August, what the North-West Company considered “their rights in the interior.”

Another attack with fire arms was made upon the governor's house on the 22nd of June; but the fire was not returned by the settlers.—Finding, however, it was vain to look for a cessation of hostility, they determined to quit the settlement, and accordingly informed Mr. Alexander M'Donell that they should be ready to depart in two or three days.—On the 24th of June, two of the Sautoux chiefs, with about forty warriors of that nation, arrived at the settlement. From thence they went to the North-West Company's station at the Forks, and endeavoured to prevail upon Mr. M'Donell to permit the settlers to remain, but without effect. The Indians then expressed their regret that, from the numbers of people whom the North-West Company had collected in the neighbourhood, supported by the field-pieces which had been taken from the colony, they were not able at that time to protect the settlers. They therefore advised them to depart, and offered to give them a safe escort for themselves and their property down the river to Lake Winipic.—This offer was thankfully accepted, and was probably the means of saving the lives, as well as securing the property, of the remaining settlers. For there is very little doubt but that the plunder of the stores, still remaining at the settlement, was held out as a lure to tempt the half-breeds, and their associates, to the commission of the outrages against it; and that they were prepared to seize all the remaining property by

force as the settlers passed down the river towards the lake. Under their Indian escort, therefore, the officers and remaining settlers, amounting to about sixty, quitted the settlement, leaving behind Mr. M'Leod, a trader in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, then stationed at Red River, with two or three men employed in the trading concerns of that Company.—The settlers having thus quitted their habitations, went in their boats down the Red River to its mouth, from whence, after taking leave of their friendly Indian conductors, who expressed an anxious hope that they would be enabled again to return to their settlement, they proceeded to the other end of Lake Winipic, where they stationed themselves at a trading post, on Jack River, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company.—The day after they had left the settlement, a party of their enemies, composed, as usual, of the North-West Company's clerks, servants, &c. proceeded to the spot, and setting fire to the houses, the mill, and the other buildings, burnt them to the ground*.

The "complete downfall of the colony" being thus accomplished through the agency of the two partners who had been employed to effect it, it will be important to observe how these agents were received by the North-West Company, when they

* See all the Appendix from [D.] to [T.] inclusive.

reported to that body the success of their campaign, and produced to them the proofs of their victory.

They carried down with them to the annual rendezvous of the partners and agents at Fort William, on Lake Superior, about one hundred and thirty-four settlers, including men, women, and children.—They arrived there about the end of July, and found many of the partners of the North-West Company assembled, who expressed their undisguised satisfaction at the occurrences which had taken place at Red River.—Cameron was highly praised for the steps he had adopted, particularly in carrying off the field-pieces, and securing the arms: and if any further proof were wanted, of which, however, there is abundance, that the conduct of Cameron and M'Donell was fully approved of by the body of partners then present, it need only be mentioned that, in place of the Company taking immediate steps to have those two individuals brought to trial, they were again appointed to command at the same stations in the interior, which they had charge of the season before; and were directed to return to the scenes of their late exertions, doubtless, with the view, of opposing any attempt to restore the colony on the Red River.

But though these marks of approbation were bestowed upon the leading actors in this work of destruction, it would appear that the subordinate agents were by no means so liberally rewarded as they had reason to expect; and that they even

complained of being defrauded of their promised hire*. Many of the deserters from the colony, however, and those of the settlers, whose treachery had proved most useful to the Company, were well remunerated for their services. An account book was regularly opened at Fort William, in which credits were given to forty-eight of these people, for various articles which they had plundered from the settlement, and delivered to Cameron at his trading post.—These consisted chiefly of implements of husbandry, working tools, horses, muskets, guns, pistols, &c. &c.—Thus, in one of their accounts, appears a credit “for five
 “new guns, £10;—for a new common pistol,
 “15s.;—one old gun, 15s.” &c. &c.—At the bottom of those accounts were generally added the sums they were to receive, and did receive, as rewards for their services against the settlement.—Several of these persons thus obtained from the North-West Company larger sums than, in all probability, they had ever been possessed of at any one period in the whole course of their lives.—To many of their accounts were also subjoined, in the hand-writing of Cameron, and M'Donell, short abstracts of the services which these deserters had respectively performed in promoting the destruction of the settlement.—For example; honourable mention is made of one of them (in the hand-writing of

* See Appendix, [Q], near the conclusion.

Cameron) thus—"This man joined our people in
 " February, was a great partisan, and very useful to
 " us ever since, and deserves something from the
 " North-West Company—say five or six pounds."
 —Of another (also in Cameron's hand-writing):—
 " This man was also a great partisan of ours, and
 " made himself very useful to us ; he lost his three
 " years' earning with the H. B. for joining us, and
 " he deserves at least about £20."—Of another
 (in the hand-writing of Alexander M'Donell): " He
 " was very desperate in our cause this spring, and
 " deserves three or four pounds," (signed) " A.
 " M'Donell."—Of another (also in M'Donell's
 hand-writing): " An active smart fellow.—Left
 " the H. B. Company in April last—a true par-
 " tisan, steady and brave.—Took a most active
 " part in the campaign of this spring, and deserves
 " from fifteen to twenty pounds.—He has lost
 " about £20 by leaving the Hudson's Bay Co.
 " a month before the expiration of his contract."
 (signed) " A. M'Donell."—Of another (likewise
 in M'Donell's hand-writing): " This man left the
 " H. B. Co. in the month of April, owing to
 " which he lost three years' wages.—His behaviour
 " towards us has been that of a true partisan,
 " steady, brave, and resolute man ; and was some-
 " thing of a leading character among his country-
 " men, and deserves at least about £20." (signed)
 " A. M'Donell."—But the truest of all *true parti-*
sans appears to have been George Campbell. This

man was therefore conspicuously honoured, as well as rewarded, by the North-West Company.—He was placed at table in their common hall at Fort William next to the partners, and above the clerks of the Company.—But this distinction (enviable as it might be!) was not sufficiently solid for Mr. Campbell.—By the direction of the partnership he received a reward of £100, which was paid to him by one of the Company's clerks. Subjoined to his account with the Company is the following honourable testimony to his merits, under the hand-writing, and signature of his friend and patron Mr. Cameron.—“ This (Geo. Campbell) is a very
 “ decent man, and a great partisan, who often
 “ exposed his life for the N. W. Co.—He has
 “ been of very essential service in the transactions
 “ of Red River, and deserves at least £100,
 “ Halifax; and every other service that can be
 “ rendered to him by the North-West Company.
 “ —Rather than his merit and services should
 “ go unrewarded, I would give him a £100
 “ myself, although I have already been a good
 “ deal out of pocket by my campaign to Red
 “ River.

“ DUNCAN CAMERON*.”

* The £100 thus recommended by Mr. Cameron to be paid, was evidently received by George Campbell.—See Appendix, [S.] page xli.—How the North-West Company could permit the account book above mentioned, to get out

After a perusal of the statements which I have thus submitted, and of the documents which have been referred to in the preceding part of my narrative, no impartial reader, unless he thinks these documents are forged, can, I conceive, hesitate in drawing this conclusion—that from the first knowledge of the Earl of Selkirk's intention to establish a colony at the Red River, the North-West Company were determined to prevent it;—that, in pursuance of this determination, they adopted, both at home and abroad, such measures as they deemed best calculated to carry their resolution into effect;—that their hostile operations increased in proportion as the probable success of the settlement became more apparent—and that, at length, they thought fit to instigate those measures of violent aggression against it, which ended in robbery and bloodshed.

These occurrences were at first ascribed, by the North-West Company, to the native Indians,—but, as it became obvious that not a single Indian had been concerned in them, they next attributed them to the half-breeds; a race over whom they stated they had no control. Their influence over

of their possession, I know not.—It contains many other entries of great importance, with reference to the proceedings alluded to; but the extracts which have been given, are confined to what more immediately relates to those active partners, D. Cameron, and Alexander M'Donell.

the half-breeds, however, is too notorious to be concealed, and upon what description of persons they will next be driven to shift the blame, I know not ; — but however remote the scene of these crimes may be ; however great the difficulty of obtaining speedy and effectual investigation ; and, above all, however bold and artful the attempts to misrepresent facts, and conceal the truth, — the public cannot continue much longer to be misled by vague assertions, or blinded by assumed concern at events which persons connected with the North-West Company pretend to have foretold, and which (in all human probability), had they chosen, they could have entirely prevented.

It may be recollected that when the question of establishing a regular agricultural settlement in the Hudson's Bay territories was first agitated, and when the grant to the Earl of Selkirk, for that object, was under discussion, certain individuals, concerned for the North-West Company in this country, stepped forward to express, in the protest I have formerly noticed, their humane concern at the distressing situation to which the emigrant settlers in Ossiniboia would be reduced ; and anticipated, with much apparent solicitude, the difficulties in which the colonists would be plunged. — But however compassionate the language, which, at that time, was used by the persons concerned for the Company at home, they seem to have been over-matched in fine feeling by the Company's

agents abroad.—Let us see how the Honourable Mr. William M'Gillivray, the agent and principal partner of the North-West Company in Canada, and member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Lower Province, expresses himself to Sir Frederick Robinson, then in the temporary command in Upper Canada, who had applied to him for information with respect to the colonists at Red River.—On the 15th of August, 1815, (shortly after the arrival of the settlers who were brought, by the Company, to Upper Canada, and when it is impossible to suppose that Mr. M'Gillivray, then in that Province, could be ignorant of the real circumstances of the case,) he writes to Sir Frederick Robinson, transmitting a Statement drawn up by him on the subject.—In this Statement he mentions, among other things, that “the disorder excited in the country by those acts of violence*, the disgust given to the settlers by the extensive disadvantages of the country, as well as the violence and tyranny of their leader, and the dread of the natives, Indians, and mixed breed†, all contri-

* Alluding to the proceedings of Mr. Miles Macdonell.—See Appendix, [B.]

† In another part of this letter Mr. M'Gillivray talks of these half-breeds as “being a daring and now numerous race, sprung from the intercourse of the Canadian Voyageurs with Indian women, and who consider themselves as the possessors of the country, and lords of the soil.”—It was some

"buted to break up the colony.—Some few of the
 "settlers (about fourteen families) have returned to
 "Hudson's Bay, and the remainder threw them-
 "selves upon the compassion of the North-West
 "Company to obtain means of conveyance to
 "Canada.—Some of them state upon oath that
 "they left their homes in expectation of coming
 "to Canada at once, and were only told of their
 "actual destination at Stornoway in the island of
 "Lewis, from whence the embarkation took place.
 "—Others state, also upon oath, that they were
 "informed the distance from Red River to Canada
 "was short, and the communication easy, so that
 "if they did not like that country, they might have
 "it in their power to join their friends in Canada;
 "and others state that they were to go to Canada
 "by way of the Red River.—Under these circum-
 "stances, partly from compassion towards these
 "poor people, and partly from a dread of the con-
 "sequences of their remaining in the interior,
 "(because, in the event of the Indians attacking
 "them, it was feared that the Hatchet, once raised,
 "would not discriminate between a trader, and a

time ago rumoured that a formal petition had been presented
 to Government in behalf of these illegitimate Bois-Brulés as
 "lords of the soil!"—If they have become so, it doubtless
 must be by right of *conquest*, as even Mr. McGillivray
 will scarcely contend that they hold the lands by right of
inheritance.

“ settler, but that all the white men in the country
 “ might become its victims,) the North-West
 “ Comany has offered these settlers a conveyance to
 “ this Province, and the means of subsistence since
 “ they left the Red River.”— &c. &c. &c.—And
 he concludes his letter to Sir Frederick (in which
 he forwarded this Statement) by “ begging his pro-
 “ tection and favour for the poor settlers.”—The
 writer, however, deceived himself in supposing
 that the fourteen families of settlers, alluded to by
 him, had returned to Hudson’s Bay ; for, at the
 very time he was composing his Statement, and
 pouring out his fine feelings in the answer to
 Sir F. Robinson’s official inquiry, these obstinate,
 and untractable families, were actually on their
 way back to their old station on the Red River.—
 When the two partners of the North-West Com-
 pany (Cameron, and Alexander M’Donell) had pro-
 ceeded towards Canada with their followers, these
 settlers voluntarily returned from the North end
 of Lake Winipic, to resume possession of their
 lands, and to re-establish the settlement; and this
 they did in spite of “ the extensive disadvantages
 “ of the country,” the “ indiscriminating hatchet
 “ of the Indian,” or, what was worse than either,
 the canting “ compassion of the North-West
 Company.”

But we cannot yet part with Mr. M’Gillivray.
 —In his communication to Sir Frederick Robin-
 son he refers to certain “ statements upon oath,”

of some of the settlers who were brought down to Canada. But it is sufficiently obvious that these depositions, whatever they may contain, should be received with the greatest doubt, and suspicion.— In the first place, those who were examined, were persons who had been seduced to the commission of crime by partners of the North-West Company, and were then at Fort William, under the control, and at the disposal, of those who had seduced them. In the second place the persons who specially superintended these examinations, were no other than Mr. Alexander M'Donell, the Company's partner who was so active in their seduction, and Mr. Norman M'Leod, another partner, (and a Magistrate for the Indian territory,) whose activity, of a similar description, will appear sufficiently obvious in the sequel.— Besides, before these statements are to be attended to, we ought first to be satisfied that none of the persons examined were of the number of those forty-eight settlers and servants whose names appear in the account book regularly made out at Fort William, and which specifies the sums respectively paid to them by the North-West Company, for their services as "true partisans," together with the credits allowed them for articles which they had plundered from their employer, and sold to that very Company, of which two of the most active partners were now selected for the purpose of taking these examinations.— The receiver of stolen goods is surely not a fit person to take the examination of the thief!—

But this is not all.—There is evidence that while Messrs. Alexander M'Donell, and Norman M'Leod were thus employed in taking those depositions, they evinced the greatest anxiety (and naturally enough) to discover any circumstances which might bring discredit upon the settlement at Red River, or blame on its management :—and there is also evidence that while the examinations were going on, M'Donell received a special direction from one of the leading partners of the Company, to hasten these depositions, suggesting the expediency of at once getting at something that might throw blame on the Earl of Selkirk ; and that he (M'Donell) should endeavour to find out some of the settlers who could, or would, swear to circumstances which might have that effect.—What the result of M'Donell's search among the settlers for this object was, I know not.—He probably succeeded in getting something which he thought would suit the purpose; for he seems to have been a most indefatigable partner, either in the closet or the field.—Twelve months had not elapsed since we found him transmitting a dispatch to his correspondent at Montreal, that he was, then, by fair means or foul, preparing “to commence open hostilities against the enemy in Red River,”—and now, having obtained the victory, we find him superintending in person, the solemn examinations of his prisoners on oath!—“A true partisan”—equally

prepared to pursue his object with the Testament, or the tomahawk.

In a former part of this communication, I mentioned that the Earl of Selkirk had received information in this country, in the beginning of the year 1815, that it was suspected the Indians were likely to make an attack upon the Red River settlement; and although the specific ground of that suspicion had not been communicated, he lost no time in applying to Government for some military aid and protection. By affording to the colony, in its infancy, a small portion of such assistance, there was every reason to believe that, in a very short time, it would have been able to protect itself. But I think it will appear obvious, that the Provincial Government refused to give the protection, without having instituted a sufficient inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining if it was expedient to grant it.

In order to support his settlers by his personal exertions, the Earl of Selkirk repaired to America. —On his arrival at New York, in his way to Canada, he received intelligence of the dispersion of the colonists, and the destruction of the settlement. He proceeded immediately to Montreal, where he soon learnt that the Indians had no concern in the transaction, and he adopted, without delay, the requisite steps to obtain substantial

evidence with respect to the acts which had taken place, and the persons by whom they were committed.—The settlers who had been brought down to Canada were now dispersed in both Provinces, and many of them in great distress.—That distress was ascribed to his Lordship (as a matter of course), and not to those who had first seduced, and then abandoned them.—The North-West Company had no further use for their services ;—the expense of bringing them down to Canada had already proved sufficiently burthensome ;—and, of course, the splendid promises made at the banks of the Red River, of lands in the Canadas, high wages, great encouragement, &c. &c. were all forgotten on the shores of the St. Lawrence.—But it is not unworthy of remark, that no sooner was it understood that Lord Selkirk was proceeding to York, in Upper Canada, for the purpose of carrying on his inquiries, than rations of provisions were ordered to be issued, by the North-West Company's agent there, to those of the settlers who had been brought down to that place, and who had not obtained employment.

Numerous affidavits were now taken before various magistrates, both in Upper and Lower Canada.—The settlers, servants, and others, who had belonged to the Red River colony, and who had been brought away by the North-West Company, were themselves examined. In addition to the evidence thus obtained, depositions were taken

of those officers and settlers, who, remaining true to their engagements, had refused to come down to Canada.—These depositions, together with other proofs, which had been obtained, formed so strong a chain of evidence, as to leave little doubt who the persons were, by whom the acts of violence had been instigated, and committed.

While occupied in these important investigations, Lord Selkirk received information that the Red River Colony had been again re-established; and that the body of settlers, which had withdrawn to the North end of Lake Winipic, had returned to the settlement, after Cameron and Alexander M'Donell, with their followers, had left the Red River.—On the receipt of this intelligence, Lord Selkirk dispatched a messenger into the interior, for the purpose of giving notice to the settlers of his arrival in America; and of his intention, as soon as the river navigation was open in the spring, to join them at the settlement with every means he could obtain, to secure their protection:—but the messenger he sent was waylaid and robbed of his dispatches*.

* These letters were entrusted to a person, named Lagimiere, whom Lord Selkirk could depend upon, and who had made a hazardous winter journey of upwards of two thousand miles, for the purpose of bringing to Montreal the intelligence of the re-establishment of the Red River colony. With respect to his being robbed, on returning to the interior, see the Declaration of the Chipewa Chief,

Reports began now to be circulated of the probability of renewed aggression against the colony in the spring.—It was not very likely indeed that the opponents of colonization would sit tamely down, and permit the agricultural pursuits of the settlers to revive at Red River, without some attempts to prevent them.—In addition to their original inveteracy, they were probably not a little irritated at the resolution evinced by the colonists, in endeavouring to re-establish the settlement after their former dispersion :—And it was therefore not doubted in Canada, by those most likely to be best informed, that another attempt would be speedily made to destroy it.

The Earl of Selkirk again endeavoured, by every means in his power, to procure some small military protection for the settlers ; but his application to Sir Gordon Drummond, (who then administered the

before the Council of the Indian Department, in the Appendix, [U.]

Lagimoniere was attacked in the night-time, near the Fond du Lac Superior, by some Indian hunters employed by the North-West Company, who beat him in a shocking manner, and plundered him of his dispatches, his canoe, and every thing it contained.—The order to intercept him was issued on the 2nd of June, 1816, by Mr. Norman M'Leod, from Fort William ; and the Indians who performed the service were credited in the books of the North-West Company, with the sum of one hundred dollars. Several of the letters, in Lord Selkirk's hand-writing, have been since found among some loose papers at Fort William.

Government of Canada) was unsuccessful;—and his endeavours seem to have been equally fruitless to learn the reasons of the refusal.—In making this assertion, however, it is incumbent upon me to state the ground upon which it is founded.

In the months of March and April 1816, when numerous reports were in circulation in Canada of the intended renewal of hostility against the Red River colony,—an official correspondence of very considerable length took place between Sir Gordon Drummond and the Earl of Selkirk. It appears that the latter, having collected much evidence from various quarters, with respect to the attack upon the settlement, in the former year, was preparing to have the proofs submitted to the Provincial Government. The object of laying that body of evidence before his Excellency, was to point out the description of persons who had caused and instigated the former aggressions, and that, from the same quarter, a renewal of the outrages was expected. In a letter to Sir Gordon Drummond, of the 11th March, 1816, his Lordship, among other things, says, “ I beg leave to “ observe, that I consider this matter,” (namely, a small escort which he had requested for his personal security in going to the interior), “ as totally “ distinct from the permanent protection to be “ afforded to the settlers on Red River, in pursuance of Lord Bathurst’s instructions to your “ Excellency of March last.—I have to remind

“ your Excellency of my letter of November 11th,
 “ to which no final answer has yet been given.—
 “ But I forbear to press for an immediate decision
 “ on that subject, as I shall soon have occasion to
 “ lay before your Excellency some very important
 “ documents, containing evidence which has come
 “ to my knowledge since the period I refer to ;—
 “ evidence which must remove every shadow of
 “ doubt as to the propriety of an immediate com-
 “ pliance with the instructions in question.”— Sir
 Gordon Drummond, in his answer to this part of
 the subject, says, “ I beg leave to acquaint your
 “ Lordship, that having, upon a full consideration
 “ of the subject, and after an attentive perusal of
 “ the numerous documents relating to it which
 “ have passed through my hands, declined a
 “ compliance with a requisition which was made
 “ to me for a military detachment to be perma-
 “ nently stationed for the protection of your Lord-
 “ ship’s settlement on the Red River ; and having
 “ fully stated to Earl Bathurst my reasons for this
 “ refusal, I cannot consent to take any steps which
 “ I consider at variance with that decision, until I
 “ am furnished with the further and more specific
 “ instructions of his Majesty’s Government, to
 “ whom I have referred on the subject.—Having
 “ distinctly stated this in the conversation which I
 “ had the honour to hold with your Lordship at
 “ the time that you placed in my hands your letter
 “ of the 11th November, I had not apprehended

“ that your Lordship would have expected any
 “ further answer to that letter, or otherwise, I
 “ have to assure your Lordship that it should not
 “ have been for a moment withheld.”—Lord
 Selkirk, in his answer to Sir Gordon Drummond’s
 letter, observes, “ With respect to my letter of
 “ November 11th, and the conversation which I
 “ had the honour of holding with your Excellency,
 “ on the subject of military protection for the
 “ settlers on Red River, I certainly did not under-
 “ stand you to express a determination so absolute,
 “ that no change could be made upon it, even by
 “ a change of circumstances, or by the discovery
 “ of facts of primary importance, previously
 “ unknown to you. To justify such a resolution,
 “ thus unalterable, I cannot doubt that your
 “ Excellency must have reasons of a more decisive
 “ nature than any which I can recollect you to have
 “ stated in conversation ; and as your Excellency
 “ has expressed your intention of communicating
 “ to the North-West Company your motives for
 “ allowing a personal escort for myself, I trust,
 “ that, in like manner, I may receive an explanation
 “ of the reasons which induce you to withhold
 “ from the settlers that protection which his
 “ Majesty’s Government had consented to allow.”

Some time afterwards the subject was again
 pressed upon Sir Gordon Drummond, as appears
 by the following communication :—

" MONTREAL, April 23rd, 1816.

" SIR,

" In referring to the letters which
 " I have had occasion of late to address to your
 " Excellency, it appears that I have not fully
 " informed you of the re-establishment of the set-
 " tlement on Red River, which took place last
 " autumn; little more than two months after its
 " destruction appeared to have been accomplished.
 " —Your Excellency has been apprised that a
 " part of the settlers refused to enter into the views
 " of the North-West Company, and, when over-
 " powered by superior numbers, retired towards
 " Hudson's Bay;—But as soon as the ruffians,
 " who had been assembled from various quarters
 " to attack them, had dispersed, these settlers
 " returned to Red River, followed by a considera-
 " ble reinforcement of people who had recently
 " arrived from Europe. At the date of the last
 " advices, in October, they were living on the best
 " terms with the Indians and half-Indians in their
 " neighbourhood, and were under no apprehension
 " of any enemies but those which they expected to
 " be again excited against them by the malice of
 " the North-West Company.

" Your Excellency has not condescended to
 " inform me of the grounds on which you had
 " refused to comply with Lord Bathurst's instruc-
 " tion ' to give such protection to the settlers at
 " ' Red River, as could be afforded without detri-
 " ' ment to his Majesty's service in other quarters,'

“ and it is not improbable that you may have been
 “ influenced by the idea of the settlement having
 “ been totally and irrecoverably destroyed.—I
 “ think it my duty, therefore, to inform your
 “ Excellency of the real state of the fact, and at
 “ the same time to point out the probability that
 “ the same persons who plotted the destruction of
 “ the settlement last year, will make another
 “ attempt upon it this spring; encouraged by
 “ the knowledge of the determination which your
 “ Excellency took last summer, not to send any
 “ military force for the protection of the settlers.

“ Though I have not been distinctly informed
 “ of the grounds of that determination, I have
 “ received important hints as to some reasons which
 “ appear to have had weight with your Excel-
 “ lency.—So far as these are known to me, I can
 “ pronounce with confidence, that they are founded
 “ on misinformation, and can pledge myself to
 “ bring satisfactory proof to this effect.

“ When I had the honour of seeing your Excel-
 “ lency in November, I understood you to be
 “ apprehensive, that the employment of a military
 “ force at Red River would be viewed with jealousy
 “ by the Indians.—I also understood that you had
 “ doubts as to the expense of sending troops there;
 “ and I have been informed by the last letters
 “ which I have received from London, that in a
 “ communication from your Excellency to Lord
 “ Bathurst, it had been stated to be altogether

“ impracticable to convey troops to that country.--
 “ If these are the objections which still weigh with
 “ your Excellency, I can have no doubt that they
 “ may be removed.

“ With respect to the Indians, I have, from
 “ unquestionable authority, such positive infor-
 “ mation of their favourable dispositions, that
 “ I cannot entertain a doubt of his Majesty’s
 “ troops being received as friends, and protectors,
 “ by the Indians, as well as the settlers; so that
 “ nothing but ordinary discretion, on the part of
 “ the officers, can be requisite for maintaining
 “ harmony. So confident am I on this point,
 “ that if your Excellency will allow a company of
 “ soldiers to be sent up, and will entrust the
 “ selection of the officers and men to Colonel
 “ Darling, I will take upon myself the entire
 “ responsibility, if any such bad consequences (as
 “ I conceive your Excellency to apprehend) should
 “ arise on the part of the Indians*.

* The Earl of Selkirk was wrong in supposing that the Governor of Canada could properly have adopted any measure within his government upon the responsibility of his Lordship, or of any other individual whatever. The responsibility must of course have rested with the person administering the government. The circumstance, however, tends to show how anxious Lord Selkirk must have been to protect the colonists from the sanguinary attack which he was so well assured would take place; and that, if any blame should eventually

“ With respect to the difficulty and expense of
 “ conveying the men, I am ready on that point
 “ also to relieve your Excellency of all the trouble,
 “ and responsibility. All that I ask is your
 “ authority for the Commissary General here to
 “ issue out of his stores, such articles as may be
 “ required for the outfit, and supply of the expe-
 “ dition,—leaving it to his Majesty’s Government
 “ at home to decide whether these articles are to be
 “ allowed, as for the public service, or not; and,
 “ in the event of their not being allowed, I will
 “ be responsible that these articles shall be either
 “ replaced, or paid for, as may be desired.

“ The only other difficulty, of which I have ever
 “ heard a surmise, is, that the officer in command
 “ might be placed in embarrassing circumstances,
 “ as to the proper line of his duty, if called upon
 “ to support the civil magistrate, in the event of
 “ disputes between the different persons who claim
 “ authority.—I flatter myself that this difficulty
 “ will soon be obviated by a reference to the
 “ opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General of
 “ England as to the claims in dispute.—In the
 “ mean time, I conceive that your Excellency
 “ ought to refer the question to the Attorney-
 “ General of the Province, and that, if his opinion

occur, (in consequence of military protection being granted
 as a measure of precaution) that none of that blame should
 attach to any one but himself.

“ be taken as a guide, the officer in command will
 “ certainly be exonerated from all responsibility.

“ In your Excellency’s letter to me of the 15th
 “ ultimo. I am informed that, having stated to
 “ Lord Bathurst your reasons for refusing to send
 “ a military detachment to Red River, you could
 “ not take any other step, till you should receive
 “ farther instructions. I beg leave, however, to
 “ observe, that this determination, having been com-
 “ municated to Lord Bathurst previously to my letter
 “ of November 11th, must have been grounded alto-
 “ gether on the information derived from the North-
 “ West Company; for, at that date, no information
 “ at all had been laid before your Excellency on my
 “ part, or that of the Hudson’s Bay Company, of a
 “ later date than February 1815. At that period we
 “ could only state grounds of apprehension, as to
 “ the intention of our enemies. Since my arrival
 “ in this Province, I have collected most decisive
 “ evidence as to the conduct actually pursued by
 “ them—evidence which must have been entirely
 “ unknown to your Excellency at the date of your
 “ communication to Lord Bathurst; and even now
 “ you are not in possession of one-tenth part of the
 “ facts which I can undertake to prove.—In my
 “ letter of 11th ultimo I offered to lay the evidence
 “ before your Excellency, and your reply gave me
 “ to understand, that it was too late to be taken
 “ into consideration.

“ I presume, however, that the instructions given
 “ by Lord Bathurst in March 1815, have never
 “ been recalled; and till they are positively and
 “ explicitly recalled, I conceive that it remains in
 “ your Excellency’s discretion to act upon them if
 “ you see fit; and that you cannot be precluded
 “ from the exercise of that discretion, by any
 “ determination which you may have expressed,
 “ while you were under an erroneous impression
 “ as to the real state of the facts, or while the cir-
 “ cumstances of the case were different from those
 “ which now exist. The re-establishment of the set-
 “ tlement, and the probability of a renewal of hos-
 “ tile attacks against it, call loudly for a revival of
 “ your determination. The occurrences of last sum-
 “ mer prove, beyond all possibility of doubt, that
 “ the countenance of the public force is necessary
 “ for the protection of the settlers against the law-
 “ less violence of their enemies; and the instructions
 “ which your Excellency received last year from
 “ Lord Bathurst cannot leave any doubt as to the
 “ intentions of his Majesty’s Government to afford
 “ protection, and not to abandon the settlers to
 “ their fate, as if they were out of the pale of the
 “ British Empire.—If, however, your Excellency
 “ persevere in your intention to do nothing, till
 “ you receive farther instructions, there is a proba-
 “ bility, almost amounting to certainty, that
 “ another season must be lost, before the requisite

“ force can be sent up ;—during another year the
 “ settlers must remain exposed to attack, and there
 “ is every reason to expect that in consequence of
 “ this delay, many lives may be lost.

“ That this calamity can only be averted by the
 “ means pointed out in Lord Bathurst’s instructions,
 “ and that no reasonable objection lies against that
 “ measure, are points of which your Excellency
 “ cannot fail to be convinced upon a careful re-
 “ examination of the subject, when you have
 “ the whole evidence before you, and can bestow
 “ equal attention on both sides of the question.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) “ SELKIRK.

“ *To His Excellency*

“ *Sir Gordon Drummond,*

“ *&c. &c. &c.*”

In answer to this communication, his Lordship
 received the following reply from Sir Gordon
 Drummond.

“ *Castle St. Lewis,*

“ *QUEBEC, 27th April, 1816.*

“ MY LORD,

“ I have to acknowledge the receipt
 “ of your letter of the 23rd instant, and regret
 “ extremely to find that your Lordship deems it
 “ necessary to urge me on a point to which I have
 “ already so fully and so candidly replied.

“ I trust that the communication which I made
 “ on the 25th instant, both to your Lordship and
 “ to the partners of the North-West Company,
 “ will have the desired effect of preventing a repe-
 “ tition of the mutual proceedings and outrages
 “ which have been made the subject of complaint
 “ to his Majesty’s Government, and which were
 “ so strongly denounced in the dispatch of Earl
 “ Bathurst, cited in the above communication.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) “ GORDON DRUMMOND.

“*Earl of Selkirk.*”

The following was the letter (of the 25th of April) referred to by Sir Gordon Drummond in his above-mentioned communication, and the answer to which is also subjoined :—

“ CASTLE OF ST. LEWIS, QUEBEC,

“ 25th April, 1816.

“ MY LORD,

“ Having received from my Lord Bathurst a
 “ dispatch, in which his Lordship acquaints me that
 “ many complaints had been made to him of the
 “ violent proceedings, and mutual outrages, of
 “ the servants of the North-West, and Hudson’s
 “ Bay Companies, in the remote parts of his Ma-

" jesty's North American dominions, which, if
 " persevered in, may ultimately lead, not only to
 " the destruction of the individuals concerned, but
 " of others of his Majesty's subjects; I am, there-
 " fore, in obedience to his Lordship's commands,
 " to desire that your Lordship will, without loss of
 " time, inculcate on those servants and agents of
 " the Hudson's Bay Company, who may be under
 " your control, or within your influence, the
 " necessity of abstaining from a repetition of those
 " outrages which have been lately so frequent a
 " cause of complaint; and I am to convey to your
 " Lordship the determination of his Majesty's
 " Government to punish, with the utmost severity,
 " any person who may be found to have caused or
 " instigated proceedings so fatal to the tranquillity
 " of the possessions in that quarter, and so dis-
 " graceful to the British name.

" I am to acquaint your Lordship that a similar
 " communication has been made to Mr. M'Gil-
 " livray, as one of the principal partners of the
 " North-West Company.

" I have the honour to be,

" &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) " GORDON DRUMMOND.

" *Earl of Selkirk.*"

“ Sir,

“ I have to acknowledge the honour
 “ of your Excellency's letter of the 25th, commu-
 “ nicating the receipt of a dispatch from Lord
 “ Bathurst relative to the complaints which have
 “ been made to him of violent proceedings between
 “ the servants of the North-West, and Hudson's
 “ Bay Companies.

“ It gives me very great pleasure to learn that
 “ his Majesty's Government are at length deter-
 “ mined to punish the authors of these outrages.—
 “ I shall not fail to communicate your Excel-
 “ lency's letter, not only to the persons in my own
 “ employment, but also to the servants of the
 “ Hudson's Bay Company, with whom I have any
 “ correspondence.—At the same time, I must be
 “ permitted to observe, that the uniform tenor of
 “ my own instructions has been exactly conform-
 “ able to that which Lord Bathurst now incul-
 “ cates ; and this has also been the case as to the
 “ instructions given by the directors of the Hud-
 “ son's Bay Company to their servants.—Of this
 “ I can speak of my own certain knowledge for
 “ the last six years, and I have every reason to
 “ believe that the case was the same before that
 “ time.—I must also take the liberty of observing,
 “ that the Hudson's Bay Company are possessed
 “ of ample materials to prove that the outrages
 “ which Lord Bathurst speaks of have not been
 “ ‘ mutual,’ but all on one side.—As, however,

“ the proof of this assertion may require an investigation of some length, I beg leave to point out
 “ two very obvious considerations of probability,
 “ of which, Lord Bathurst cannot fail to perceive
 “ the force.

“ In the first place, the establishment of men in
 “ the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, does
 “ not amount to one-third of the number employed
 “ by the North-West Company.—Whether is it
 “ most probable that a system of aggression, and
 “ violence, should originate with the weaker party,
 “ or with the stronger?

“ In the second place, your Excellency is aware,
 “ that, for more than a year past, it has been the
 “ anxious wish of the Hudson's Bay Company,
 “ that a party of troops should be stationed in these
 “ parts of his Majesty's dominions for the purpose
 “ of preserving the peace.—Is it probable that
 “ such an application should come from a body of
 “ men who are disposed to encourage their servants in acts of violence and outrage?

“ I have the honour to be,

“ &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) “ SELKIRK.”

“ *His Excellency*

“ *Sir Gordon Drummond.*”

After a perusal of the Documents above referred to, can there exist a doubt that the Earl of Selkirk made every exertion in his power to warn the Pro-

vincial Government of the apprehended renewal of those outrages which had caused the destruction of the Red River settlement in the year 1815?—Is it not obvious that he not only pointed out the evil, but suggested the remedy? and that, in doing so, he had not forgotten to consider the most likely means of securing, from subsequent blame, those individuals who might be appointed personally to assist in protecting the colonists, and keeping the peace?

From the letters, however, which he received from the Provincial Government, it may be collected, that the measures of precaution which had been applied for, were not only refused, but that a determination had been made not to communicate to him the grounds of the refusal. The Governor of Canada, no doubt, had a right to give, or to withhold, the reasons of his dissent.—He might think it was sufficient that he had communicated them, the year before, to his Majesty's Government.—But, as submitting candidly the grounds of his former decision might eventually have been the means of his becoming better informed;—and as, at all events, the consideration of the additional evidence which was offered by the Earl of Selkirk, could not have made him less master of the subject,—it is difficult to guess what just reason can be assigned for the refusal.—The dispatch from the Secretary of State, conveying the determination of his Majesty's Government (as

stated in Sir Gordon Drummond's letter of the 25th April), to punish, with the utmost severity, those persons who were found to have caused, or instigated, the proceedings in question, surely required from the Provincial Government an immediate, and a rigid, inquiry. How could the persons be punished until they were known? and, perhaps, the very last person in Canada whom the Governor ought to have requested to guide him in the search, was the individual upon whom, it would appear, he chiefly, if not exclusively, relied for information.—Whatever might have been the private opinion which the Governor of Canada entertained of the chief agent of the North-West Company, that agent was surely not the proper channel through which information ought principally to have been sought for upon matters in which the Company itself appeared to be so deeply implicated.—Delicacy even towards Mr. M'Gillivray himself, ought, I conceive, to have prevented Sir Gordon Drummond from asking him the question.—I mean not, in the slightest degree, to insinuate that the Provincial Government, in thus applying to the principal agent of that Company, had any doubt whatever but that accurate information would be thereby obtained. Mr. M'Gillivray was among the highest in point of rank within the province, and a member of the council; and, in applying to him, the Governor, without doubt, concluded he was directing his inquiries to one who was enabled;

from his situation, to assist him on the subject.— But, if he resolved to consult him, he ought to have consulted him along with others, and not to have remained satisfied with the answers exclusively given by the agent of that body against whom such heavy charges had been made, and officially submitted to his Majesty's Government.

That Sir Gordon Drummond did from the first rest satisfied with such answers as the principal agent for the North-West Company chose to communicate, cannot, I think, be doubted, when the letter addressed, by his Excellency's direction, from the adjutant-general at Quebec, to the Earl of Selkirk's agents at Montreal, (previous to his Lordship's arrival in Canada) ~~be~~ referred to.—

“ QUEBEC, 12th July, 1815.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ Referring to my letter to you of the
 “ 8th ultimo. inclosing copy of a communication
 “ proposed to be made to Mr. M'Gillivray, con-
 “ taining certain queries relative to the danger
 “ with which the settlers on Red River are sup-
 “ posed to be threatened from the hostility of the
 “ Indians, instigated by the servants of the North-
 “ West Company, I am directed by Sir Gordon
 “ Drummond to acquaint you that that letter has
 “ been answered by Mr. M'Gillivray in such a
 “ manner as would have removed from his Excel-
 “ lency's mind all traces of any impression unfav-

“vourable to the honourable character, and liberal
 “principles, of the heads of the North-West Com-
 “pany, had any such impression existed.

“On a full consideration, however, of the
 “statements, and documents, now before him, Sir
 “Gordon Drummond is of opinion, that if the
 “lives and property of Lord Selkirk’s settlers are,
 “or may hereafter be, endangered, that danger will
 “arise principally from the conduct of Mr. Miles
 “Macdonell, his Lordship’s agent, who appears
 “to his Excellency to be actuated by any thing
 “but a spirit of moderation or conciliation in his
 “language and demeanour towards the servants
 “of the North-West Company. He has more-
 “over assumed powers which cannot possibly, in
 “his Excellency’s opinion, have been vested in
 “him, or in any agent, public, or private, of any
 “individual, or of any chartered body*.—The
 “legality, however, or otherwise, of the procla-
 “mations issued by Mr. Miles Macdonell (copy
 “of two of which are enclosed) will of course be

* How far Sir Gordon Drummond’s legal opinion ought to have weight with respect to the powers, and commission, held by Mr. Miles Macdonell (as a governor in one of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Establishments, under the specific provisions of their Royal Charter) I am not competent to judge. At all events he appears to differ in opinion from Mr. Justice Holroyd, Sir Samuel Romilly, and the other English lawyers, whose names appear in the Appendix, [A.]

“ determined in a court of law in Great Britain,
 “ to which they have, very properly, been referred
 “ by the North-West Company*. The papers
 “ which accompanied your letter are herewith
 “ returned, copies having been retained for trans-
 “ mission to the Secretary of State, before whom
 “ it has been his Excellency Sir Gordon Drum-
 “ mond’s endeavour, to place the whole case, as
 “ fairly and fully as possible.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Gentlemen,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

“ J. HARVEY,

“ *Lieut.-Col. &c. &c.*”

“ *Messrs. Maitland, Garden, }
 and Auldjo.*” }

If this communication should not be deemed sufficient, to establish the fact of the Provincial Government having been fatally led to rest satisfied with the information obtained from those who were connected with the parties accused, I must be permitted to produce another letter from the same quarter, written a few weeks previous to the one above quoted, and addressed to the Honourable Mr. William M’Gillivray. This document, although it appears to have been of a confidential nature, was officially made use of by one of the leading

* No such reference to any court of law in Great Britain has ever been heard of.

partners of the North-West Company, in a communication transmitted by him to his Majesty's Government, dated Montreal, 19th June, 1815.

" QUEBEC, *June 14th*, 1815.

" CONFIDENTIAL.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" Sir Gordon Drummond has received
 " a communication from high authority, desiring
 " him to make inquiry into the foundation for a
 " strong degree of alarm which appears to be
 " entertained by the Earl of Selkirk, and the Hud-
 " son's Bay Company, for the safety of their
 " settlers on Red River, in consequence of an idea
 " which has been instilled into their minds by
 " persons resident in Canada, that the Indian
 " tribes in the neighbourhood of that settlement
 " have been instigated to commit the horrid and
 " atrocious act of attempting the destruction of
 " the whole population of that settlement.

" I must not conceal from you, that some of the
 " servants of the North-West Company are sus-
 " pected of being concerned in this diabolical act.
 " Sir Gordon Drummond however feels that he
 " cannot more strongly evince the high respect
 " which he entertains for the head of that most
 " respectable body, and his perfect confidence in
 " their candour and liberality of sentiment, than
 " by the course which he has not hesitated to adopt
 " of applying himself direct to them for the infor-

“ mation which they assuredly possess the best
 “ means of affording, and which his Excellency is
 “ equally assured they are too honourable and con-
 “ scientious to withhold.

“ I am commanded therefore to ask you if there
 “ exists in your opinion any reasonable grounds
 “ for believing that the atrocity alluded to is in
 “ the contemplation of the Indians in question, or
 “ that the safety or property of the settlers on the
 “ Red River is endangered from the causes above
 “ referred to ?

“ Whatever may be the answer to this query, I
 “ am commanded to remind you, that the powerful
 “ body of which you are the head, far more than
 “ the government of these provinces, possess the
 “ means of influencing the actions of these remote
 “ tribes of Indians with whom they alone hold an
 “ intercourse, whose wants they alone supply, and
 “ whose conduct they alone can control.

“ The North-West Company, therefore, will be
 “ considered responsible in the eye of the world, as
 “ well as in those of his Majesty's Government,
 “ for any such horrid catastrophe as I have alluded
 “ to, whether arising from the instigations of their
 “ subordinate agents, or from the influenced ma-
 “ lignity of the Indians themselves.

“ Sir Gordon Drummond feels assured that by
 “ this appeal he has more effectually provided for
 “ the safety of his Majesty's subjects inhabiting
 “ the shores of Hudson's Bay, than it would be

" in his power to do by any other measure what-
" ever.

" His Excellency being ill provided with maps
" or charts of that remote part of his Majesty's
" dominions, in which the Red River is situated,
" has directed me to request that you will favour
" him with the loan for a short time of any good
" one which may be in your possession.

(Signed) " J. HARVEY."

" *The Honourable*

" *William M^cGillivray.*"

Upon these communications I shall make but little comment. It appears evident that the Governor of Canada thought he was thus adopting a step, which would fully enable him to give the information required by his Majesty's Government. That it was his wish to learn the truth, and to avert the danger, is apparent. At the same time it is obvious that he was much in error; and this has been but too clearly proved by the fatal consequences which ensued.

No hope being entertained of obtaining military protection for the settlement,—a circumstance soon afterwards occurred, which appeared to afford to the Earl of Selkirk an opportunity not only of procuring a body of efficient settlers for the colony, but of materially adding to its strength and security. In consequence of the peace with America,

the regiments of De Meuron, Watteville, and the Glengary Fencibles in Canada, were reduced. The privates, as well as the officers, were entitled, on their discharge, to have lands assigned them in the Canadas, in which case the men (of the two first mentioned regiments) were not to be brought home to Europe. Nearly two hundred of the Meuron Regiment remained in America, and of these about eighty, together with four gentlemen who had been officers in the regiment, instead of remaining in Canada, preferred going to the Red River settlement with the Earl of Selkirk. His Lordship entered into regular written agreements with each of these men, in like manner as he had done with his other settlers, and labourers at the colony.—They were to be paid at a certain rate per month for navigating the boats up to Red River;—were to have lands assigned to them at the settlement;—and, if they did not chuse to remain there, they were to have a free passage back to Montreal, or, if they preferred it, were to be conveyed, at his Lordship's expense, to Europe, by the way of Hudson's Bay. Besides the discharged soldiers of the regiment of Meuron, there were about twenty of that of De Watteville, who engaged on similar terms. A few of the Glengary Fencibles, with one of their officers, also joined him. When these men were discharged, they were no longer soldiers.—They retained their clothing, as is usual in such cases, and Lord Selkirk furnished

them with arms, as he had done to his other settlers, — a measure which Government itself had more than sanctioned in the year 1813, having ordered the Board of Ordnance, at that time, to issue some small field pieces, and a considerable number of muskets, and ammunition, for the use of the Red River colony. — Much obloquy has been thrown on the Earl of Selkirk by his enemies for this proceeding; but I confess I have not yet been able to discover the slightest grounds for their censure. — These discharged soldiers had an undoubted right to enter into such agreements with the Earl of Selkirk, and the latter had an undoubted right to enter into contracts with them. The Provincial Government was apprised by his Lordship of the measure he was adopting, and of his views with respect to these people. — With this body of men, therefore, as an addition of strength to his settlement, Lord Selkirk proceeded towards the interior, in confident hopes that he would arrive at the Red River before any serious aggression was directed against the colony: — but in this he was disappointed.

When he reached the Falls of St. Mary, between Lakes Huron and Superior, an advanced party, which had been forwarded in light canoes, that they might arrive at the Red River with all possible dispatch, fell back, and, brought him intelligence that the settlement was again destroyed. They stated, in addition, that many of the settlers,

together with Mr. Semple, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, who happened to be there at the time, and also several others in the service of that Company, had been massacred. Those who brought this intelligence had reached the Red River, but had not gone so far as the settlement; for having been informed that the colony was broken up, and the settlers dispersed, they had thought it needless to proceed.—Their account was vague, but, at the same time, there was no reason to doubt that the lamentable event had actually taken place. It was also asserted, that several of the settlers, and others, had been brought down from the Red River as prisoners, by the North-West Company, and were detained in custody at their trading post at Fort William. Previous to this intelligence, his Lordship had no intention whatever to go to that place. The route he had fixed on lay quite in a different direction, namely by the Fond du Lac (at the upper, or West, end of Lake Superior) the River St. Louis, and the Red Lake, at which place he had appointed boats and provisions from the colony on Red River to meet him, and his new settlers.—He had even sent off, from the Falls of St. Mary, the boats with his people to proceed along the South shore of Lake Superior, so as to avoid all collision with the North-West Company's establishments, and intended to follow them in his own canoe, when the intelligence was communicated to him of the

destruction of the settlement.—Finding, therefore, that the colonists were dispersed, and the settlement destroyed, he was of course prevented from proceeding in the direction he intended; and he resolved to go to Fort William, and demand the release of those who were in custody, or ascertain the grounds of their detention.

The difficulty and distress in which he was placed will, perhaps, be best seen in the account which his Lordship dispatched (from the Falls of St. Mary, 29th July), to Sir John Sherbrook, who had recently been appointed Governor-General of the Canadas.—

“ It is with feelings of the most anxious concern,” observes his Lordship, “ that I have to add the information recently received here of the success which has this season attended the unprincipled machinations of the North-West Company, who have again effected the destruction of the settlement on Red River, with the massacre of about twenty of the settlers and servants of the Hudson’s Bay Company. The circumstances attending this catastrophe, and those which immediately led to it, have as yet reached me only in a very imperfect manner, and through channels which cannot fully be depended upon. I have no doubt that the North-West Company are in possession of more accurate information, but the interest they

“ have to misrepresent the facts, must be too evi-
 “ dent to require any comment. Of this I am
 “ confident, that Mr. Semple was not a man likely
 “ to act in a violent or illegal manner, so as to
 “ give any just ground for such an attack as
 “ appears to have been made. I trust that, in the
 “ course of a few days, I may obtain more com-
 “ plete information on this subject, at Fort William,
 “ where are now assembled many persons who must
 “ have direct knowledge of the facts, and on whom
 “ I propose, as a magistrate, to call for information.
 “ In the delicate situation in which I stand as a
 “ party interested, I could have wished that some
 “ other magistrate should have undertaken the
 “ investigation. In this view I have applied to
 “ two very respectable gentlemen in this neigh-
 “ bourhood, who are qualified as magistrates for
 “ the western district of Upper Canada*, and the
 “ only persons so qualified who could be expected
 “ to go to such a distance. Both of them, how-
 “ ever, have avocations which render it impossible
 “ to comply with my request; I am therefore
 “ reduced to the alternative of acting alone, or of
 “ allowing an audacious crime to pass unpunished.
 “ In these circumstances, I cannot doubt that it is
 “ my duty to act, though I am not without appre-

* Mr. Askin of Drummond's Island, and Mr. Ermatinger
 at the Sault St. Marie.

“hension that the law may be openly resisted by a
 “set of men who have been accustomed to con-
 “sider force as the only criterion of right.

“I have the honour to be,

“&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) “SELKIRK.”

“*To His Excellency*

“*Sir John Sherbrook,*

“*&c. &c. &c.*”

Lord Selkirk accordingly directed his course to Fort William, and entering the river Kaministigoia, near the mouth of which Fort William is situated, proceeded about a mile above it, and made his people pitch their tents on the opposite bank.—A number of the partners of the North-West Company were now assembled at the Fort, or trading-post, and among them Mr. William M’Gillivray, their principal agent in Canada. Lord Selkirk immediately sent over to that gentleman, to know by what authority, and on what grounds, Mr. Pritchard, Mr. Pambrun, Nolin, and others from the Red River, were detained in custody. Some of these were immediately permitted to join his Lordship, Mr. M’Gillivray stating that he did not admit they were prisoners; and adding, that of the others, who had been sent for, one was on his way to Montreal as a prisoner, and the other as a witness.—The persons who came over, asserted that they had all been kept for a time under

rigorous confinement. The informations taken of these persons and others, with respect to the occurrences at the colony, were of such a nature, as to induce his Lordship to issue warrants for the apprehension of most of the North-West Company's partners then at Fort William.—The first he issued was against Mr. M'Gillivray, who submitted immediately to the warrant. Two other partners, who came over with him, to offer themselves as bail, (which was refused) were also apprehended, and detained under similar warrants. Other warrants were likewise issued to arrest several more of the partners, who had remained behind at the Fort, and the constables were again sent with two boats, the crews of which were armed, for the purpose of supporting the peace-officers, if necessary, in the execution of their duty. The resistance, which was made to the serving of these last-mentioned warrants, is a sufficient proof how advisable it was to resort to the precaution which had been adopted. When the constables landed, four or five of the partners were standing at, and within, the gate of the Fort, together with a considerable number of Canadians, and Indians, in the North-West Company's employment. The warrants were, in the usual form, served upon two of these partners; but when the constable was proceeding to arrest the third, he declared that there should be no further submission to any warrant till Mr. M'Gillivray was liberated. An attempt was imme-

diately made to shut the gate, and prevent the constables from entering. They had succeeded in shutting one half of the gate, and had almost closed the other by force, when the principal constable called out for the assistance of those who were with him.—The party from the two boats, about twenty-five in number, immediately rushed up, and forced their way into the Fort. A signal being made by a bugle, sounded by one of the party, an additional number of persons came quickly over from the opposite side of the river, and their appearance (for they did not enter the Fort) probably prevented bloodshed, and further resistance.—The partner, who had refused obedience to the warrant, was seized and taken to the boats, and the rest submitted peaceably to the arrest.—At the time this resistance to the warrant was attempted, there were above two hundred Canadians in the employment of the Company in, and about, the Fort—together with sixty or seventy Iroquois Indians, also in the Company's service.—Another warrant had been issued to search for, and secure, the papers of the Company, and of the partners who had been apprehended.—Seals were put upon these by a gentleman appointed by the Earl of Selkirk, and by one of the principal clerks of the North-West Company, and guards were placed for security.

The partners, who were arrested, were taken over to Lord Selkirk's tents, but the day was

now too far advanced to proceed with all their examinations. They pledged their word of honour, that no further attempt should be made to obstruct the execution of the law, and that all measures of a hostile nature should be abandoned. Lord Selkirk, in consequence, consented to allow the prisoners to return to their apartments in the Fort. It appears, however, that sufficient precaution had not been adopted.—It was discovered next morning that the seals were broken from several places, and that many letters and papers had been burnt in the kitchen in the course of the night;—that a canoe loaded with arms and ammunition had been sent off,—that several barrels of gunpowder had been secretly conveyed from the Fort in the night-time, which were afterwards traced to a place of concealment among some brushwood in the neighbourhood; and about fifty or sixty stand of Indian guns, to all appearance fresh loaded and primed, were found hidden under some hay in a barn or loft, adjoining the Fort.

In consequence of these discoveries, and the suspicions that a surprise might be attempted by the Indians and Canadians in the Company's service, the greater part of the latter were sent to pitch their tents on the opposite side of the river; and their canoes were secured.—Lord Selkirk and his party came over and pitched their tents in front of the Fort, where the guards were strengthened.

The examinations of the prisoners having been completed, and the same being revised, corrected, and signed by themselves, warrants of commitment were issued, and they, together with the necessary documents, were sent off, under an escort, to the Attorney-General of Upper Canada. By his recommendation, I believe, the prisoners, together with all the documents, were taken to Montreal, in Lower Canada,—at which place the prisoners were admitted to bail.

The short account thus given of the proceedings at Fort William is extracted from a detailed statement, which the Earl of Selkirk officially addressed on the 21st of August, (about a week after his arrival at that place) to Mr. Gore, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.—There is every reason to believe that many of his Lordship's direct, and more recent, communications have been intercepted*.—But, in proceeding with my narrative, I trust I shall be enabled, from the depositions taken

* From the same cause (the non-arrival of any recent communication from the Earl of Selkirk) I am prevented from at all entering, even were it necessary, into the subject of certain charges which I understand are preferred against him by the North-West Company for taking forcible, and felonious possession of their trading post at Fort William, and of robbing them of all the furs deposited therein.—If his Lordship has acted, in any shape, contrary to law, he will, of course, be amenable to the law for such acts. This statement is not intended to justify any measure which may be found either

at Fort William, as well as at Montreal, to satisfy the reader, that the persons who instigated and effected the destruction of the Red River settlement in 1815, were the same who destroyed it in the following year, and massacred those who wished to defend it.

It appears necessary, however, to recal the reader's attention to that division of the colonists, who, refusing to be taken down to Canada, in the summer of 1815, had proceeded, under the friendly escort of the Indians, as far as Lake Winipic, from whence they went to the other end of the lake, and established themselves for a short time at Jack

inconsistent with law, justice, or propriety. It would appear however, that if he had not remained in occupation of Fort William, he, and his people, must probably have had to spend a Canadian winter without cover; for his enemies had taken special care that he should not be allowed to find shelter for them at his settlement in the interior. With respect to the other charge (of feloniously seizing the North-West Company's furs) it appears pretty clear that the depôt at Fort William contained, besides the Company's furs, no inconsiderable quantity of property that was stolen. How far a magistrate is authorised to detain, for subsequent legal investigation, the whole of a deposit, part of which is composed of pillaged property, I know not; but the matter, I presume, will be duly investigated by a competent judicial tribunal.— See Appendix, [V.] page xlviii. and [Z.]——Not only was property, plundered from the Hudson's Bay Company, found in Fort William, but also property taken from the Red River settlement, which belonged to the Earl of Selkirk.

River House, a station belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company.—They were soon afterwards joined by Mr. Colin Robertson, a gentleman employed in the service of that Company, who told the settlers, that if they chose to go back to the settlement, he would take charge of them, and carry with him some men, who, he thought, would be of service in assisting them to re-establish themselves.—They accordingly put themselves under his charge, and returned to the Red River, where they were, some time after, joined by a considerable body of emigrants, (chiefly from the Highlands of Scotland,) who had been written to, in the year before, by the settlers at Red River, and anxiously pressed, and encouraged by them, to emigrate to that place.—With this addition, the colonists amounted to upwards of two hundred.—The greater part of them remained for some months, about ninety miles up the Red River, at its junction with the River Pembina, for the purpose of more easily procuring buffaloe-meat during the winter ;—but, early in the following spring, they were all placed at the original station of the colony, where lands were regularly assigned to them*.

* When the settlement was broken up, and the houses burned, in June 1815, the crops of grain were much destroyed:—but after the North-West Company's servants, and the half-breeds, had dispersed, the crops that remained were taken care of by Mr. M'Leod, and two or three other men who had continued at the Red River, employed in the trading concerns of

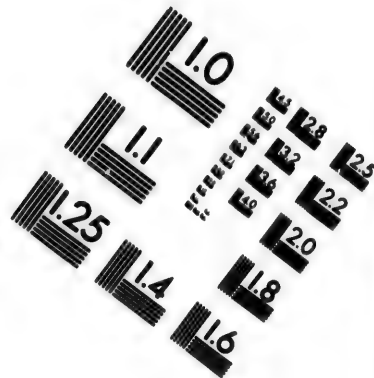
It has been already mentioned, that the two partners of the North-West Company, Mr. Duncan Cameron, and Mr. Alexander M'Donell, had returned from the annual rendezvous at Fort William in the autumn of 1815, to the stations which they had occupied in the preceding winter; namely, Mr. Cameron to that at the Forks of the Red River, and Mr. A. M'Donell to that upon the River Qui Appelle, also within the Hudson's Bay territories, although several hundred miles further in the interior.—Neither of these partners expected to find that any of the Red River colonists had so soon attempted to re-establish themselves at the settlement.—Mr. Cameron, however, began again to molest and disturb the settlers; upon which Mr. Colin Robertson, who had taken upon himself the charge of them, seized his fort, or trading post, by surprise, (in the month of October), and recovered two of the field-pieces, and thirty stand of arms, which had been carried off from the settlement, the year before. These, it may be recollected, Cameron had formerly refused to restore, holding at defiance the warrant which had been sent for the purpose of recovering them. — In this proceeding of Mr. Robertson, fortunately, no blood was shed,—and Cameron was released,

the Hudson's Bay Company.—By the middle of October fifteen hundred bushels of wheat, a considerable quantity of other grain, and a large stock of potatoes were safely housed.

upon his promise to behave peaceably in future, and immediately reinstated in possession of his trading post —It appears, however, that early in the ensuing spring, he was again apprehended, and taken towards the coast of Hudson's Bay by Mr. Robertson, under Governor Semple's directions, for the purpose, as it is understood, of being sent to England to take his trial.—No authenticated accounts have reached this country of the grounds of this apprehension, or the circumstances attending it, and it can only be collected, from several of the individuals who were since brought away from the Red River by the North-West Company, that Cameron had been again detected in carrying on his plots against the colony, and co-operating, for that purpose, with his partner Mr. Alexander M'Donell,—to whose operations we must now turn our attention, as being the more immediate cause of the massacre which took place at the Red River*.

* Mr. Robertson having reason to suspect that the North-West Company were again plotting the destruction of the settlement, caused some letters to be intercepted.—In one of these, from Mr. Alexander M'Donell to another partner, he says "the disaster which befel the settlement last year is nothing to what is preparing for them, and shall infallibly overtake them, this spring."—In another he says, "These poor devils (meaning the colonists) little think of the storm which is gathering soon, and certainly to burst over their heads."





**23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503**



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It appears evident, from the depositions, that Mr. Alexander M'Donell used great exertion to assemble the half-breeds, from every quarter that he could, for the purpose of prosecuting his hostile measures against the settlement.—Many of these were collected from a very distant part of the country: some from Cumberland House, and also from the Upper Saskatchewan, at least seven or eight hundred miles from the Red River settlement*. But, notwithstanding the great distance, various reports reached the settlers in the course of the winter, of the dangers which threatened them from that quarter.

In a narrative which was written by Mr. Pritchard, one of the principal settlers, (then at the River Pembina, where he had about one hundred and sixty of the colonists under his charge,) he says,—
 “ In the course of the winter we were much alarmed
 “ by reports that the half-breeds were assembling in
 “ all parts of the North for the purpose of driving us
 “ away, and that they were expected to arrive at
 “ the settlement early in the spring. The nearer the
 “ spring approached, the more prevalent these
 “ reports grew, and letters received from different
 “ posts confirmed the same. Our hunters, and
 “ those free Canadians who had supplied us with
 “ provisions, were much terrified with the dread

* See Appendix, [V.] page xlviii. and [Y.]

“ of the punishment they might receive for the
 “ support they had given us.—My neighbours, the
 “ half-breeds, began to shew a disposition to
 “ violence, and threatened to shoot our hunter
 “ Bollenaud’s horse, and himself too, if he did not
 “ desist from running the buffaloe; at the same time
 “ they told me, that if I did not prevent him from
 “ so doing, they would go in a body on horseback,
 “ drive the cattle away, and cause my people to
 “ starve.

“ In the month of March, Messrs. Fraser and
 “ Hesse arrived at my neighbour’s house, which
 “ gave us great uneasiness, as Fraser was repre-
 “ sented as the leader of the half-breeds, and that
 “ he was a daring, and violent man*. On his arrival
 “ he sent a threatening message to one of my
 “ hunters, and whenever an opportunity offered, he
 “ was very assiduous in his endeavours to seduce
 “ from us, our servants and settlers; likewise a
 “ report was very current, that a party of half-
 “ breeds, and Cree Indians, were expected to arrive
 “ from Fort des Prairies, on the Saskatchewan
 “ River, as soon as the melting of the snow would
 “ admit of their travelling; and the language of
 “ every free Canadian we saw was ‘ Mefiez vous

* Fraser had received a good education in Canada;—and was once a clerk in the custom house at Quebec; he was afterwards appointed a clerk in the North-West Company. He makes a conspicuous figure in the subsequent atrocities against the colony.

“ ‘ bien pour l’amour de Dieu ; mesiez vous bien.’
 “ At the same time we were informed that the half-
 “ breed servants of the North-West Company, who
 “ were then in the plains, were ordered home to
 “ their house. This assemblage of those men
 “ gave us the most serious apprehension for the
 “ safety of the settlers, and those servants who were
 “ employed to bring provisions from the plains to
 “ the fort.”

Governor Semple, who had been visiting several of the stations within the Hudson's Bay territories, arrived at the Red River in the spring of 1816*. In the month of April, he sent Mr. Pambrun to the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post on the River Qui Appelle, who found, at the adjoining post belonging to the North-West Company, a great number of the Brulés collected. Mr. Pambrun embarked, in the beginning of May, with Mr. George Sutherland, (who had the charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post on that river,) and twenty-two men, in five boats, loaded with a considerable

* Mr. Semple had been nominated by the Hudson's Bay Company to be the chief governor over all their factories and territories,—and had gone out, in 1815, to take upon him the important charge to which he had been appointed. No person could be better fitted for the situation than Mr. Semple. He was of a mild, steady, just, and honourable character.

quantity of furs, and about six hundred bags of pemican*, chiefly intended for the support of the colonists, till they could reap the crops that were on the ground. On the 12th of May, as they were proceeding down the river, they were attacked by an armed party of about fifty of the servants of the North-West Company, (Canadians and half-breeds,) under the command of Cuthbert Grant, Thomas M'Kay, Roderick M'Kenzie, and Pangman Bostonois, clerks and interpreters of that Company, together with Brisbois, one of their guides.—Mr. Pambrun and the rest of the party were taken prisoners, and carried to Mr. Alexander M'Donell, who avowed that it was by his order that they, and the provisions, and other property, were seized.—M'Donell stated, that he had done so in retaliation for Mr. C. Robertson having taken the North-West Company's fort at the Forks of the Red River, and declared that it was his intention to starve the colonists, and the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and make them surrender.—The party were forcibly detained for five

* Pemican is a species of dried provisions, generally prepared by the natives, from the buffalo and deer. The lean parts of the meat are first dried by the heat of the fire, then reduced into a coarse powder, mixed with melted fat, and crammed into bags made of the skins of the buffalo.—Each bag contains about ninety pound weight, and it is reckoned a good carcase, which yields a whole bag.

days, and then liberated under a promise not to bear arms against the North-West Company, with the exception of Mr. Pambrun, who was kept a prisoner no less than six weeks. Mr. Pambrun had served as lieutenant in the corps of Canadian Voltigeurs during the late war with America, and, in one of the actions, had received a severe wound in his leg.—When first detained as a prisoner by Mr. Alexander M'Donell, at his post on the River Qui Appelle, his wound broke out afresh and threatened the loss of the limb, but Mr. M'Donell would not let him go back to the settlement for the benefit of medical assistance.—He said, however, that if Mr. Pambrun would write to the surgeon of the settlement for medicine, he would send for it; but, after the letter was written, he refused to send it.—It appears to have been an important object with M'Donell to detain Mr. Pambrun for the purpose of preventing him from communicating information to Governor Semple, and from assisting, with his military experience, in the defence of the colony.—As the party under M'Donell afterwards approached the Red River, Mr. Pambrun was closely guarded, night and day, by several armed men.

About the end of May, Alexander M'Donell embarked in his boats with the furs, and bags of provisions, which he had seized. He was attended by a body of the Brulés on horseback, who followed him along the banks of the river. They soon

afterwards met a band of the Sautoux Indians with their chief, to whom M'Donell made a speech, the purport of which was, that the English * were spoiling the lands on Red River, which belonged to the Indians and to the half-breeds ; that if the Indians would not drive them away, the North-West Company would ; and if the settlers resisted, that none should be spared, and the ground should be drenched with their blood.—He did not, he said, stand in need of the aid of the Indians, but yet he would be glad if some of them would join him.—None of them, however, would accompany him.

When the party arrived near the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post at Brandon House, Cuthbert Grant was dispatched with twenty-five men, who took the post, and pillaged it not only of all the British goods, together with the furs, and provisions, belonging to that Company, but also of the private property of their servants, which was distributed among the Canadians, and half-breeds, under Alexander M'Donell.—After this exploit, M'Donell divided his forces, amounting in all to about one hundred and twenty men, (including six Cree Indians who had been pre-

* The *English*, when mentioned in the Indian and Hudson's Bay territory, always means the servants of the latter Company, or the settlers, in contradistinction to the *Canadians* and *half-breeds*.

vailed upon to accompany them from a great distance) into separate *brigades*, under Cuthbert Grant, Lacerte, Alexander Fraser, and Antoine Hoole—and he nominated Seraphim Lamar, (the *Voyageur Ensign* of the preceding campaign,) his lieutenant, or second in command, under him.—When this organised banditti arrived at Portage des Prairies, the plunder was landed from the canoes, and the six hundred bags of pemican were formed into a sort of rampart or redoubt, flanked by two brass swivels, which had formerly belonged to Lord Selkirk's settlement.

On the 18th of June, Cuthbert Grant, Lacerte, Fraser, Hoole, and Thomas M'Kay, were sent off from the Portage des Prairies, with about seventy men, to attack the colony at Red River. Their commander-in-chief, Alexander M'Donell, in the mean while, prudently remained where he was, together with several of his officers, and about forty men, cautiously barricaded behind his portable redoubt of plundered provisions, and protected by artillery which had been stolen.

On the 20th of June, a messenger returned from Cuthbert Grant, who reported that his party had killed Governor Semple with five of his officers, and sixteen of his people; upon which M'Donell, Seraphim Lamar, and all the other officers, shouted with joy.—M'Donell then went to the rest of the men who had remained with him, and announced to them the news, in language (as sworn to by Mr. -

Pambrun,) which we will not attempt to translate,
 “ Sacré nom de Dieu !—Bonnes nouvelles.—Vingt-
 “ deux Anglois de tués ! * ”

It is not improbable that those individuals, who have shewn such enmity to the Earl of Selkirk, and his plans, and who have eagerly circulated the cry of “ Colonization being at all times unfavourable “ to the fur trade,” will pronounce the deposition of Mr. Pambrun, as well as those of Lavigne, Nolin, &c. &c. to be mere fabrications :—that his Lordship has been employed in examining persons at Fort William upon his own affairs ;—and that no reliance ought to be placed on affidavits taken before such a magistrate†.—Unfortunately, however, for such persons, and fortunately for the cause of truth, I can produce, among other documents, depositions taken about the same time at Montreal, fifteen hundred miles from Fort William, in which the circumstances are confirmed by persons who escaped from the massacre.

In addition to the information contained in these documents I have before me, a statement of the whole transaction, drawn up, and signed, by Mr. Pritchard, who was present, and whose life was saved, with great difficulty, by the interference of one of the Canadians of the hostile party, with whom he had been previously ac-

* See Appendix, [V.]

† See Appendix, [V.] [W.] [X.] &c. &c.

quainted.—Mr. Pritchard had been long employed in the service of the North-West Company, and had resided thirteen years at the Red River.—On the first establishment of the colony, he preferred settling there with his family, and cultivating a farm, to continuing in the service of the Company, notwithstanding he had received from them strong assurance of promotion.—When the colony was broken up, in the year 1815, he had been driven from it with those of the settlers who subsequently retired to the further end of Lake Winipic; and he had again returned with them to the Red River in the autumn of the same year.

It appears that Governor Semple was upon the point of returning from the Red River to York Fort in Hudson's Bay, on the concerns of the Hudson's Bay Company, when the reports, which had been for some time in circulation, of intended hostility against the settlement, began to increase from every quarter. Measures of precaution were adopted, and a watch regularly kept to guard against surprise.—On the 17th of June, two Cree Indians who had escaped from the party of Canadians and Brulés under Mr. Alexander M'Donell, came to Mr. Semple at Fort Douglas, adjoining the settlement*, and told him that he would certainly be attacked in two days

* After their return from Jack River House, the settlers named the Governor's house, at the settlement, Fort Douglas.

by the Bois-Brulés, commanded by Cuthbert Grant, Hoole, Fraser, Bourrassa, Lacerte, and Thomas M'Kay, all in the service of the North-West Company, who were determined to take the fort; and that, if any resistance was made, neither man, woman, or child, would escape.—Two chiefs of the Sautoux Indians, hearing also of the intended attack, came and held a council with Governor Semple, and told him, in a speech, “they were come to take their father’s advice, and wished to know from him how they were to act; that they were certain he would be attacked, and that, if their father wanted their assistance, they, and their young men, would be ready to defend him.”—Governor Semple answered, by advising them not to interfere;—“But,” said he, “as we are not sure of what may be the will of our Great Father, I now give you a supply of gunpowder, that, in case of my destruction, you may have the means of procuring subsistence, for yourselves and families, during the summer.” Some of the free Canadians also offered to join him, but he declined their services, saying, that he did not wish them to fight against their countrymen.

“On the afternoon of the 19th of June,” (I now quote Mr. Pritchard’s narrative,) “a man in the watch-house called out, that the half-breeds were coming. The governor, some other gentlemen, and myself, looked through spy-glasses, and I distinctly saw some armed people

" on horseback passing along the plains. A man
 " then called out, they, (meaning the half-breeds)
 " are making for the settlers; on which the
 " governor said, ' We must go out and meet these
 " ' people; let twenty men follow me.' We
 " proceeded by the old road leading down the set-
 " tlement. As we were going along, we met
 " many of the settlers running to the fort, crying,
 " ' the half breeds—the half-breeds.'—When we
 " were advanced about three quarters of a mile
 " along the settlement, we saw some people on
 " horseback behind a point of woods.—On our
 " nearer approach, the party seemed more nume-
 " rous; on which, the governor made a halt, and
 " sent for a field-piece, which, delaying to arrive,
 " he ordered us to advance.—We had not pro-
 " ceeded far, before the half-breeds, on horseback,
 " with their faces painted in the most hideous
 " manner, and in the dresses of Indian warriors,
 " came forward, and surrounded us in the form of
 " a half-moon. We then extended our line, and
 " moved more into the open plain; and as they
 " advanced, we retreated a few steps backwards,
 " and then saw a Canadian, named Boucher, ride
 " up to us waving his hand, and calling out,
 " ' What do you want?' the governor replied,
 " ' What do *you* want?' To which Boucher an-
 " swered, ' We want our fort.'—The governor
 " said, ' Go to your fort.'—They were, by this
 " time, near each other, and consequently spoke

" too low for me to hear.—Being at some little
 " distance to the right of the governor, I saw him
 " take hold of Boucher's gun, and almost imme-
 " diately a general discharge of fire-arms took
 " place; but whether it began on our side, or that
 " of the enemy, it was impossible to distinguish :
 " my attention was then directed towards my per-
 " sonal defence. In a few minutes, almost all our
 " people were either killed, or wounded.—Captain
 " Rogers, having fallen, rose up again and came
 " towards me, when, not seeing one of our party
 " who was not either killed or disabled, I called
 " out to him, ' For God's sake give yourself up.'—
 " He ran towards the enemy for that purpose, my-
 " self following him. He raised up his hands,
 " and, in English, and broken French, called out
 " for mercy. A half-breed (son of Colonel Wil-
 " liam M'Kay) shot him through the head, and
 " another cut open his belly with a knife, with the
 " most horrid imprecations. Fortunately for me,
 " a Canadian (named Lavigne) joining his en-
 " treaties to mine, saved me (though with the
 " greatest difficulty) from sharing the fate of my
 " friend at that moment. After this, I was res-
 " cued from death, in the most providential man-
 " ner, no less than six different times, on my road
 " to, and at, the Frog Plain, (the head-quarters of
 " those cruel murderers.) I there saw that Alex-
 " ander Murray, and his wife, two of William

“ Bannerman's children, and Alexander Suther-
 “ land, settlers, and likewise Anthony M'Donell,
 “ a servant, were prisoners, having been taken
 “ before the action took place. With the excep-
 “ tion of myself, no quarter was given to any of us.
 “ The knife, axe, or ball, put a period to the
 “ existence of the wounded ; and on the bodies of
 “ the dead were practised all those horrible bar-
 “ barities which characterise the inhuman heart of
 “ the savage. The amiable and mild Mr. Semple,
 “ lying on his side (his thigh having been broken),
 “ and supporting his head upon his hand, addressed
 “ the chief commander of our enemies, by inquir-
 “ ing if he was Mr. Grant ; and being answered
 “ in the affirmative, ‘ I am not mortally wounded,’
 “ said Mr. Semple ; ‘ and, if you could get me
 “ conveyed to the fort, I think I should live.’—
 “ Grant promised he would do so ; and imme-
 “ diately left him in the care of a Canadian, who
 “ afterwards told, that an Indian of their party
 “ came up, and shot Mr. Semple in the breast.—
 “ I entreated Grant to procure me the watch, or
 “ even the seals, of Mr. Semple, for the purpose of
 “ transmitting them to his friends, but I did not
 “ succeed. Our force amounted to twenty-eight
 “ persons, of whom twenty-one were killed, and
 “ one wounded. The Governor, Captain Rogers,
 “ Mr. James White, surgeon, Mr. Alexander
 “ M'Lean, settler, Mr. Wilkinson, private secre-

" tary to the governor, and Lieutenant Holt, of the
 " Swedish navy, and fifteen servants were killed*.
 " Mr. J. P. Bourke, storekeeper, was wounded,
 " but saved himself by flight.—The enemy, I am
 " told, were sixty-two persons, the greater part
 " of whom were the contracted servants and clerks
 " of the North-West Company.—They had one
 " man killed, and one wounded.—The chiefs, who
 " headed the party of our enemy, were Messrs.
 " Grant, and Fraser, Antoine Hoole, and Bour-
 " rassa ; the two former clerks, and the two latter
 " interpreters, in the service of the North-West
 " Company.—On the field I saw six of the North-
 " West Company's Canadian servants ; namely,
 " Boucher, Morin, Des Champs, Joseph Hesse,
 " Mageau, and Lavigne."

By the deposition of Michael Heden, who was
 close to Governor Semple during this horrible
 transaction, (and to whose affidavit I beg particular

* Mr. M'Lean, who was killed on the 19th of June, was the
 principal settler in the colony, and the same person who had
 refused the large bribe offered him as an inducement to
 desert from the settlement the year before.—See Appendix,
 [P.] and [S].—He had been severely wounded in the attack
 upon the colony in the preceding summer.—The servants of
 the settlement, who fell on the 19th of June, were seven
 labourers from Ireland, three from the Orkneys, and five from
 the north of Scotland.

reference*), it appears that Boucher, the Canadian, advanced in front of his party, and, in an insolent tone, desired to know what he (Mr. Semple) was about.—Mr. Semple desired to know what he and his party wanted.—Boucher said, he wanted his fort.—The governor desired him to go to his fort—upon which Boucher said to the governor, “ Why “ did you destroy our fort, you damned rascal ?” Mr. Semple then laid hold of the bridle of Boucher’s horse, saying, “ Scoundrel, do you tell “ me so ?” Upon this, Boucher jumped from his horse,—and a shot was instantly fired by one of Grant’s party of horsemen, which killed Mr. Holt, who was standing near Governor Semple.—Boucher then ran to his party, and another shot was fired, by which Mr. Semple was wounded.—The Governor immediately cried out to his men, “ Do “ what you can to take care of yourselves.”—But, instead of this, his party appear to have crowded about him, to ascertain what injury he had met with ;—and, while they were thus collected, the Brulés, who had formed a circle round them, fired a general volley among them, by which the greater part were killed or wounded.—Those who were still standing, took off their hats, and called for mercy, but in vain :—The horsemen galloped forward, and butchered them.

* See Appendix, [C. C.]

Heden, in his affidavit, further states, that he only observed three Indians among this party, and he saw none of these fire a shot, though he kept his eyes upon them a principal part of the time.—In the confusion of such a business, one might be disposed to doubt, in some degree, the minute accuracy of the deponent's observation ; but it is worthy of remark, that his deposition corresponds with that of Mr. Pambrun, who mentions that there had been six Indians with Mr. Alexander M'Donell, at his camp, some days before ; and, it may be recollected, that two of these had deserted from him, and brought information to Mr. Semple, on the 17th of June, of the intended attack.—The matter is not of much importance, except to shew, that the North-West Company had succeeded in getting a few Indians to join them, upon whom the blame might be subsequently thrown, if ever there should be a question of blame on the subject.—At the time of the massacre, there was an encampment of Indians (Sautoux, and Crees) opposite to the settlement, but none of them took any share in the transaction.—On the contrary, they lamented deeply what had happened ; shewing much kindness towards the settlers,—and assisting them in bringing away, for interment at the fort, some of the dead bodies of those who had fallen.

Immediately after the massacre, Mr. Pritchard was taken down to Frog Plain, a short way below

the settlement, and where Cuthbert Grant had fixed his head-quarters.—“ When I was at the Frog Plain, in their custody,” continues Mr. Pritchard, in his narrative, “ Mr. Grant told me, that an attack would, that night, be made upon the fort ; and if our people fired a single shot, a general massacre would ensue. ‘ You see,’ observed he, ‘ the little quarter we have shewn you ; and now, ‘ if any further resistance is made, neither man, ‘ woman, or child, shall be spared.’—Fraser added in French, ‘ Mr. Robertson said that we ‘ were *blacks*, and he shall see that our hearts ‘ will not belie the colour of our bodies.’—Being fully convinced of the inevitable destruction of these poor souls, I asked Grant, if there were any means by which the lives of the poor women, and children, could be saved :—I intreated him, in the name of his deceased father, whose countrywomen they were, to take pity, and spare them.—He then said, if we would give up all public property, we should be allowed to depart in peace, and that he would give us a safe escort until we had passed the North-West Company’s track in Lake Winipic, which he said was necessary to protect us from two other parties of half-breeds, that were momentarily expected to come up the river, one of which he said was commanded by Mr. William Shaw, and the other by Simon, son of the Honourable William M’Gillivray.—This proposition I wished to carry to

“ Mr. M'Donell, the chief of the settlement ; but
 “ here a difficulty arose, as Grant's men would not
 “ consent to my return.—I addressed myself to
 “ them, and concluded by saying, ‘ Mr. Grant,
 “ ‘ you know me, and I am sure will answer for
 “ ‘ my return, body for body,’—to which he
 “ assented.—Several of them told me, in a friendly
 “ way, to take great care how I acted ; that I well
 “ knew that it was impossible for me to make
 “ my escape, and that if I forfeited my word,
 “ I should be tortured to death in the most cruel
 “ manner.—These people were greatly disap-
 “ pointed in not meeting with Mr. Robertson,
 “ who, (as they told me,) they would have
 “ endeavoured to take alive ; and, after flaying
 “ him, they would have cut his body into small
 “ bits, and boiled it afterwards for the dogs.

“ On my arrival at the fort, what a scene of
 “ distress presented itself ! The widows, children,
 “ and relations of the slain, in the horrors of des-
 “ pair, were lamenting the dead, and trembling for
 “ the safety of the survivors.

“ I must here observe, that when I was allowed
 “ to leave the Frog Plain, it was late at night, and
 “ that Mr. Grant accompanied me, as my pro-
 “ tector, almost to the spot on which I had seen
 “ my dearest friends fall by the hands of the
 “ merciless savages.—The shade of night hid from
 “ my view what the dawn of the following day

“ too clearly exposed,—their mangled and dis-
 “ figured bodies.— From what I saw, and what I
 “ have been told, I do not suppose that more than
 “ one-fourth of our party were mortally wounded
 “ when they fell, but were most inhumanly
 “ butchered afterwards.

“ After having made three trips to and from the
 “ Frog Plain, Mr. Sheriff M'Donell (who had
 “ then the charge of the settlement,) and the half-
 “ breed chiefs came to an agreement in substance
 “ as before related*.—An inventory of the property
 “ being taken, the whole was delivered up to Mr.
 “ Cuthbert Grant for the use of the North-West
 “ Company, each sheet of the inventory being
 “ signed as follows :”—

* When Mr. Pritchard arrived at the settlement, he found the settlers assembled at the Governor's house, or fort.—Upon his stating the proposals, which had been sent by him, for their surrender, they declared they would not yield to the conditions required. Mr. Sheriff M'Donell therefore, although he was well aware that resistance would be useless, told Mr. Pritchard, that he could not consent to give up their post, while the men were inclined to defend it.—The settlers, however, having had time to reflect on the dreadful situation to which the women and children would inevitably be reduced, should their resistance prove unsuccessful, came next morning, and gave their consent to the terms which Cuthbert Grant had proposed.—Both Burke and Heden, however, have sworn, in their affidavits, that the private property of the settlers was almost all taken away from them by force after the capitulation.

“ ‘ Received on account of the North-West
 “ ‘ Company, by me,

“ ‘ CUTHBERT GRANT,

“ *Clerk for the N. West Co.*

“ ‘ *Acting for the N. West-Company.*’

“ In two days we were ready to embark, at
 “ which time Mr. Grant came to us, and said he
 “ could not allow us to proceed, as Mr. Alexander
 “ M'Donell (the North-West Company's partner)
 “ had sent an order for our detention until his
 “ arrival. This was dreadful news to us. We
 “ were without arms, standing upon the beach,
 “ surrounded by the murderers, and in momentary
 “ fear of our wives and daughters being violated,
 “ which it was commonly reported would take
 “ place.—The day before, at the solicitation of
 “ the settlers, I had been twice claiming the pro-
 “ tection of Messrs. Grant and Fraser on that
 “ head, who told me their intentions were only in
 “ regard to Heden's wife ; at the same time they
 “ promised me either to stop with us themselves,
 “ or send such men on whom they could depend.
 “ I reproached, intreated, and indeed did all in my
 “ power, to induce Grant to let us depart ; at
 “ last, on Mr. Sheriff M'Donell's observing that
 “ he plainly perceived that Mr. Alexander
 “ M'Donell (the North-West partner) wished to
 “ defraud Grant of the honour of the day, and
 “ take all the praise to himself, Grant's pride was

“ hurt, and he, in his intemperate manner, said,
 “ he would keep his word in spite of M'Donell,
 “ and desired us to depart immediately without
 “ waiting for the escort, which he said he would
 “ send after us in a light canoe.—We scrambled
 “ into the boats and put off.—Previous to the
 “ embarkation, I received a protection from Mr.
 “ Grant as follows :—

“ This is to certify that Mr. John Pritchard has
 “ behaved himself honourably towards the North-
 “ West Company,
 (Signed) “ CUTHBERT GRANT,”
 “ Clerk to the North West Company.”

The settlers, labourers, and others belonging to the colony, with their families, (in all nearly two hundred) having thus embarked in their boats, for the purpose of pursuing their voyage to the coast of Hudson's Bay, proceeded down the river, and, on the second day, were met by a strong party of canoes headed by Mr. Norman M'Leod, a leading partner, and a principal agent, of the North-West Company, a “ Major des Tribus Sauvages, et des pays conquis*,” and a Magistrate for the Indian territory, under the Canada Jurisdiction Act †.

* See note, bottom of page 16.

† 43rd Geo. III. c. 138.

From a person vested with such authority, the persecuted colonists might, not unreasonably, have looked, in their distress, for some little aid or commiseration.—Driven from their lands and habitations with unheard of barbarity;—the bodies of their massacred fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons, lying, many of them, unburied on the spot where they fell*,—it would have been natural for these harrassed settlers to have hailed, with some faint glimmering of hope, the approach of one, who, to other means of power and influence, added the authority of a magistrate.—Mr. Norman McLeod had also with him about ten partners of the powerful commercial body to which he belonged, whose authority would have strengthened his own, and there were, in the canoes, nearly an hundred armed men ready to act in support of his orders.—From him therefore the colonists might naturally have expected “some of those aids and “comforts which are derived from civil society;”—the anticipated deprivation of which had raised, in this country, such apprehension among the op-

* Bourke and Heden both state in their affidavits, that the Indians came and assisted in bringing some of the bodies to the fort at the settlement, and also aided in burying them. The latter (Heden) mentions that they were prevented from bringing them all in from fear of the Brulés, and that the bodies “remained on the ground a prey for the wild beasts”—that ground, which Alexander McDonnell had vowed, if resistance was made by the settlers, should be “drenched “with their blood.”

posers of colonization, and had called forth, as we have already seen, that "tension of the "North-West Company's compassion," which appears to have been consigned to this side of the Atlantic.

As soon as the settlers approached, in their boats, to Mr. Norman M'Leod's party, the latter set up the Indian war-whoop,—and the first interrogatory put by the magistrate was, "whether that rascal and scoundrel Robertson was in the boats!"—In the same tone it was asked, if Governor Semple was with them; and, when his fate was told to them, Mr. Pritchard was ordered to come ashore, and the whole party were disembarked for the purpose of having examinations taken according to the due and regular forms of law.—Instead, however, of the usual symbols of Justice,—the sword and the balance,—this Magistrate had provided himself with emblems of a more novel, but not less appropriate, description, namely—two brass field-pieces, which had been stolen from the Earl of Selkirk the year before!—Such are the purposes to which the Canada Jurisdiction Act is perverted; and such the persons who, under the fatal provisions of that legislative measure, have been but too often appointed justices of the peace for the Indian territories in British North America.

The settlers and their families having been disembarked, the magistrate commenced his judicial examinations by a general search into all the trunks, boxes, chests, &c. of the miserable victims whom

he had got within his grasp.—Books, papers, accounts, letters, &c. (including those of Governor Semple, and also some other of his effects which had been hitherto saved,) were all taken from them.—“ During my examination,” says Mr. Pritchard,—“ Mr. M’Leod sent for all my “ papers, which were perused by himself and “ partners. They kept of them what they thought “ proper, and returned the rest; Mr. M’Leod “ saying, that ‘ those who played at bowls, must “ expect to meet with rubbers.’—He then gave “ me a subpœna from the court of Lower Canada, “ requiring my attendance for the 1st of Sep- “ tember, in a cause, The King against Spencer.— “ I was then ordered back to a tent, and soon “ after Mr. Sheriff M’Donell was brought in as a “ prisoner, after which he was bailed to appear “ the 1st of September 1817, at Montreal, if “ required.—The settlers were detained a few days “ at this place, and as soon as they were gone, “ Mr. Bourke, myself, Patrick Corcoran, Michael “ Heden, and D. M’Kay, were placed together in “ a tent, with a guard of armed men put over us.— “ We remained here five or six days, treated with “ the greatest indignity,” &c. &c. &c.

Mr. Pritchard, it seems, had further been directed by Mr. Norman M’Leod, to write, and deliver to him, a narrative of what occurred on the 19th of June, the day of the massacre.—‘ You ‘ have drawn up a pretty paper !’ said the Justice,

‘ You had better take care yourself, or you will
 ‘ get into a scrape.’—“ I replied,” continues Mr.
 “ Pritchard, “ what I have written, Sir, is truth ;
 “ I know not what information you want. You
 “ had better put questions to me, and which I
 “ promise I will truly answer.” ‘ Yes,—yes,’—
 “ was his reply, and ordered me to send to him
 “ D. M’Kay, who returned with a subpoena
 “ against Corcoran for felony.—Corcoran and
 “ Heden were likewise served with subpoenas
 “ against Mr. Bourke for felony.—After these
 “ judicial proceedings, a party of half-breeds came
 “ into our prison, and put irons upon the hands of
 “ Mr. Bourke, saying, that they did that of their
 “ own accord as a punishment for his treatment of
 “ Mr. Duncan Cameron.—I must here observe,
 “ that Mr. M’Leod the magistrate and several of
 “ his partners were then in the fort, and of course
 “ must have sanctioned this act of the half-breeds,
 “ which was much aggravated by Mr. Bourke’s
 “ being so disabled from dressing his wound,
 “ which was still in a bad state *.”

Michael Heden was also examined by Mr.
 Norman M’Leod about the late transactions at
 Red River:—but the Justice, being no better
 pleased with the answers given by him, than with

* For two days after the massacre, Mr. Bourke could get no
 assistance for his wound; till two Indians came and kindly
 dressed it for him.—See Appendix, [B. B.], page lxxvi.

those of Mr. Pritchard, told him " they were all " lies ;—but that to make him tell the truth, he " would have him put in irons at Fort William ;" and, I fancy, his worship was as good as his word : at least it appears, by Heden's affidavit, that shortly after he got to Fort William, he was thrown into a most horrid prison, and placed in strict confinement.—The grand council at that place, it seems, deemed it advisable, that, instead of his being any longer forcibly detained as a witness for the Crown, he should himself be made the subject of a criminal prosecution.—Accordingly, Mr. M'Gillivray, who was then on the spot, issued a warrant to commit him.—By Heden's deposition it would appear, that this additional severity was resorted to, in consequence of a step which he had taken, with the view of saving the Earl of Selkirk from assassination *.

A warrant was also issued by Mr. M'Leod against Mr. Bourke,—who, being first robbed of his clothes, watch, and case of mathematical instruments, and put in irons, was afterwards carried down to Fort William on the top of the luggage in a canoe, without any attention being paid to his wound during that long journey.—In short, (for it is unnecessary further to report these *law-cases*,) the worthy magistrate for the Indian territory,

* See Bourke's and Heden's Depositions.—Appendix, [B. B.] page lxxix. and [C. C.] page lxxxvii.

closed his sessions by securing some of the settlers by *warrants*, and some by *subpœnas*:—that is to say, in order to insure the subsequent appearance of the witnesses, to give their testimony in court before the judge, they were, in the mean while, made close prisoners by the justice!—The parties who were to be prosecuted, and those who were to be evidence for the prosecution, were alike deprived of their liberty; and, in order that they might become better acquainted with each other, they were all imprisoned together in the same place—with a guard set over them, composed of those very ruffians by whom their friends had been butchered, and from whom they themselves had, almost miraculously, escaped at the time of the massacre.

In the whole of these proceedings, there appears such a horrible mixture of mock judicial solemnity, and real cruelty;—such a medley of folly, and atrocity;—of the semblance of law, and the substance of injustice,—as might, indeed, stagger the belief of any one who has not had an opportunity of perusing the documents which have been collected.

The rest of the settlers, and their families, were permitted to proceed on their dreary voyage,—after having been thus unnecessarily detained for several days, consuming the scanty stock of provisions they had with them, which, as Heden states

in his deposition, was not sufficient to last them one quarter of their journey to the coast.—No proposals were now held out, as in the year before, of free conveyance to Canada.—No gratuitous offer of lands in the Upper, or Lower Province.—No high wages—no flattering encouragement—none of those “aids and comforts” which were last year to be derived from the boasted “compassion of the North-West Company.”—Insulted, plundered, and robbed;—deprived of the protection of their nearest and dearest relations, some by the fury of a merciless banditti; and others by the callous, and cold-blooded, persecution of a magistrate, they set out on their long, and dismal journey to Hudson’s Bay*.—Of these people, nothing, I believe, has since been heard in this

* To notice individual cases of severity amid such a mass of injustice, would be an useless task—but it may be mentioned, that, in consequence of these proceedings of Mr. M’Leod, Mr. Pritchard, (without any charge against him whatever, but merely by a citation as a witness,) was forcibly separated from his wife, though she was then far advanced in a state of pregnancy, and who (as he states in his narrative) never expected to see him again. Heden, his fellow-prisoner, against whom also there was no accusation whatever, and who was merely cited, in a similar manner, as a witness, (*See his subpoena at the end of Appendix, [C. C.]*) was likewise separated from his wife, who, as admitted by the Brulé leaders, Grant and Fraser, had been particularly selected by the banditti as the intended object of their brutal violation.

country ; and those who have the best means of forming an opinion upon the subject, look for the accounts of what they have since suffered, with the most serious apprehension.

What has been already stated might well raise a strong suspicion, that, although Mr. Norman M'Leod did not reach the Red River soon enough to share in the actual destruction of the settlement, he was on full, and rapid, march for that purpose. There could have been no other object in the numerous armed band of partners, clerks, half-breeds, &c. he brought with him. — Was it not evidently a preconcerted plan, that Mr. Alexander M'Donell was to pour down, upon the colony, his grand levy of Bois-Brulés from the upper country, while Mr. Norman M'Leod, was to advance against the settlement from another quarter ? The latter, indeed, does not appear to have supposed that M'Donell had collected so large a force as he had actually assembled. At least, when the ruffians, after they had driven off the settlers, came down the Red River to pay their respects to the “ *major des tribus sauvages, et des pays conquis,*” he graciously told them that he had not expected to find so many, and that he regretted he had not brought presents of clothing sufficient to reward all of them for their services ; assuring them, at the same time, that those who

did not then receive their remuneration, should have it, by the autumn canoes of the Company*. Some of those who were engaged in the massacre, and also in the robberies at Qui Appelle, and Brandon House, received their clothing afterwards at Fort William, as appears by Mr. Pambrun's deposition. Pambrun also states, that a council was held at Red River, between M'Leod and those Brulés, and that he received them with open arms, and made them a regular speech; at which, however, Pambrun was not permitted to be present. But Lavigne, (the Canadian to whom Mr. Pritchard owed his life at the time of the massacre) was present, and has reported, in his deposition, Mr. Norman M'Leod's harangue to the banditti†.

The circumstance of Mr. M'Leod having thus cordially received, and rewarded, those persons who were active in the destruction of the colony, instead of taking measures to have the whole matter thoroughly, and legally investigated, may, of itself, be considered as strong presumptive proof of what he was himself preparing to execute.—There is,

* It appears by Blondeau's evidence, that Mr. M'Leod distributed, as rewards to the ruffians of the 19th of June, not only what he had brought with him to the Red River, but also articles of clothing, &c. which had been seized, after the massacre, from Lord Selkirk's stores at the settlement.—This was certainly a very *cheap* mode of paying them for their services. See Appendix, [Y.]

† See Appendix, [W.] page liv.

however, other evidence of his hostile intentions against the settlement.—It appears by Mr. Bourke's deposition, that, when on his way to Fort William, as a prisoner, he overheard a conversation which took place between Mr. Alexander M'Donell, and another partner, who had come up with the expedition under Mr. M'Leod, in which they mutually talked of the different measures by which it had been proposed to effect the destruction of the colony. From what was then said, it may be inferred, that M'Donell's plan was to starve the settlers,—and M'Leod's to make a forcible attack upon them*.

In addition to this, Charles Bruce, whom Mr. Miles Macdonell took with him, last summer, to the Red River, as an interpreter of the Sautoux language, has deposed, that they met, on the 24th of June, several of the Sautoux Indians of the country about Lac la Pluie, who informed them, that Mr. Norman M'Leod, in his way up, had assembled the Indians of that neighbourhood, and

* See Appendix, [B B.] page lxxix. Alexander M'Donell's intention of starving the colony into submission, is not only confirmed by Bourke's deposition, but also by the fact of his having robbed the settlers of the six hundred bags of provisions, which was intended for their use, and that of the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company.—See Appendix, [V.] page xlviii.

proposed to them to go up with him to the Red River, to release Mr. Duncan Cameron; and that if he (Cameron) was not given up, they would take him by force, and would give the Indians, for their trouble, every thing which might be found in the fort. These Indians further said, that about twenty of their nation had accordingly joined M'Leod's party, some in their own canoes, and some in those of the North-West Company. This statement was confirmed by others of the Sautoux nation. Another band from the same quarter, said, that five Indians had likewise been prevailed upon by another partner of the North-West Company, two days before, to accompany him to the Red River, where Mr. Norman M'Leod, and many of the other partners, were then assembling*.

But, if any doubts should still remain of the views of Mr. Norman M'Leod, they will probably be removed by the perusal of the following letter, addressed by him, and several others, to persons who were then stationed, in the service of the North-West Company, at their trading post at the Fond du Lac Superior.

* See Appendix, [A A.]

FORT WILLIAM, 3rd June, 1816.

" GENTLEMEN,

" Our intelligence from the Red
" River is very limited ; but what we have heard
" gives us much uneasiness ; and, after various
" consultations, we have come to the resolution
" of forwarding an express to you, to request you
" will, as soon as possible, assemble as many of the
" Indians as you can, by any means, induce to go
" to the Red River to meet us there. We would
" suggest and require, that Messrs. Morrison and
" Roussin should head and accompany the Indians.
" Roe we expect to see at Lac la Pluie, and we
" shall not fail to send him also to assist Mr. Mor-
" rison and Mr. Roussin. We also mean to take
" a few of the Lac la Pluie Indians along with us.
" We shall, and will, be guarded and prudent ; we
" shall commit no extravagances, but we must not
" suffer ourselves to be imposed upon ; nor can
" we submit quietly to the wrongs heaped upon us
" by a lawless, unauthorised, and inveterate oppo-
" nent in trade.

" You will not hesitate to explain to the Indians
" the purpose for which we want them to meet us ;
" possibly, and most probably, their appearance
" may suffice ; but in any case they shall be well
" and fully recompensed for their trouble. You
" who know the Indian character so well, make
" use of that experience to collect as many as you

“ can in a short time, from fifteen to twenty,
 “ upwards, to one hundred.

“ You will explain to the Chief, that we have
 “ king’s officers and a few soldiers along with us,
 “ so that there is not the least doubt of the justice
 “ of our cause. We start from hence to-morrow
 “ in five light canoes ; upwards of fifty men in all ;
 “ and I think we shall be in Red River about the
 “ 17th of June, where we shall hope to meet, if
 “ not all that we expect, at least Mr. Morrison
 “ and Mr. Roussin, with a few Indians, as an
 “ *avant garde*.

“ Mr. Grant will take the whole weight and
 “ trouble of the affairs of the department on him-
 “ self, no doubt, and give Messrs. Morrison and
 “ Roussin all the assistance the department can
 “ afford.

“ Since writing the foregoing, Mr. Farries has
 “ determined to go to assist you, and proceed as
 “ quickly as possible to Red River. I am con-
 “ vinced you will be most happy to have his co-
 “ operation and aid, which you will find most
 “ useful.—Some articles that you may stand most
 “ in need of, are also sent.

“ The letters written yesterday, if Mr. Farries
 “ overtakes the canoe, he will take. Positively no
 “ courier, or letters from the Hudson’s Bay Com-
 “ pany must be allowed to pass ; they must all be
 “ sent to this place. A great deal depends on
 “ your exertions, gentlemen ; and we have great

" confidence in the known influence of Messrs.

" Morrison and Roussin over the natives.

" With much esteem,

" We remain, gentlemen,

" Your most obedient servants,

(Signed)

" A. N. M'LEOD.

Agent N. W. Co.

" R. HENRY,

" JOHN M'LAUGHLIN*."

*Messrs. Grant, Morrison,
and Roussin.*

The reader, in perusing this letter, will probably have remarked how strongly it corroborates not only Bruce's deposition†, but also the Declaration given by the Chipewa Chief, before the council of the Indian department‡.—There is one circumstance which is most powerfully confirmed by its contents; namely, the anxiety which has been all along shewn, by the partners and agents, of the North-West Company, that some of the native Indians should be present, at the acts of aggression against the colony, were it only as spectators.—This appears to have been a constant object of the Company. Finding themselves unable to instigate the natives to actual aggression, their next aim was to get them to be witnesses of any hostile proceedings;

* This letter has been given in by two of the persons to whom it was addressed, and is referred to in Declarations drawn up, and respectively signed, by them.

† See Appendix, [A. A.]

‡ See Appendix, [U.]

—thus to serve a double purpose—to raise alarm in the minds of the European settlers, and to furnish an opportunity of ascribing whatever mischief might occur, to the alleged hostility of the Indians.

As an additional proof of this, it is worth while to notice the manner in which the intelligence of the death of Governor Semple and his party was first transmitted to this country.

The first accounts, which arrived in England, (and these, I believe, long before any other intelligence was received) were conveyed in two letters from the agents of the North-West Company in Canada, to their corresponding agents in London. —The one was dated from Montreal, the 17th of August,—the other was from Mr. William M'Gillivray, dated Fort William, the 17th of July last. —To those who considered, with any degree of attention, the purport of these accounts, (and to which a very free, and a very premature, circulation, was given at the time) it appeared that, although the melancholy event could scarcely be disbelieved, the story itself bore, in many respects, a very dubious appearance.—For a time it produced, however, the effect expected from it, and furnished the means of spreading calumny, and misrepresentation against the Earl of Selkirk, and his plans of colonization.

The letter from the agents at Montreal, stated, among other things, that “ Lord Selkirk's colony

" on the Red River has again been broken up,
 " owing to the mad and infatuated violence of
 " Governor Semple and his people, who fired
 " upon a party of Indians conveying provisions
 " to meet the North-West Company's canoes
 " from the interior.—'The Indians returned the
 " fire, and rushing in upon Semple's party, put
 " the whole, including himself, (about twenty
 " in all) to death, excepting one man, who escaped
 " wounded, in an ammunition cart.—'The Indians
 " immediately after, ordered away all the settlers,
 " with an injunction never to return, at the peril
 " of their lives. They offered them no personal
 " violence, and permitted them to carry away
 " their private effects, but retained the Governor's,
 " and Hudson's Bay Company's property, which
 " the Indians divided, &c. &c. &c."—And the
 letter concluded with the old story of the *compassion of the North-West Company*:—" We lament
 " the loss of life by such mad projects, which must
 " open the eyes of the Hudson's Bay Company,
 " and compel the interference of Government."

In this short extract, the reader has probably remarked, that *the Indians* are distinctly repeated no less than four times, as being the persons exclusively engaged in this act of hostility, or rather (as the writers would have it) of self-defence.—It was evidently a main object of the story, that what had occurred should

be ascribed, in this country, to Indian hostility ;— and much use was made of it by those who were eager to raise an outcry against colonization as being unfavourable to the fur trade.—The story, however, was very ill told.—No one who knew any thing of the state of that country, or of the friendly conduct, which the native tribes of Indians had always shewn towards the European settlers, gave credit to the tale of any warfare having been carried on between them. At all events, it appeared a very unaccountable part of the story, that the savages, after being thus wantonly fired upon, should, on gaining the victory, immediately throw aside the “ indiscriminating hatchet,”—and, in place of scalping man, woman, and child, sit coolly down, like prize agents, draw up inventories of the captured property, lay aside one portion, as being public stores, for the use of the captors, and generously give up another, as private effects, to the vanquished ! Those also who had known Mr. Semple, were confident that he was not a man to have acted, towards the unoffending Indians, with that “ mad and infatuated violence,” thus ascribed to him ;—a charge, which, in the absence of all evidence, and as he was no longer alive to answer it, ought not to have been so wantonly, unjustly, and ungenerously, levelled against him.—An unfortunate infatuation may, indeed, with some apparent justice, be ascribed to Mr. Semple, during these last acts of his life ;—but, it was the

infatuation of a brave and generous mind.—Too confident in his belief that the justice of his cause, and the bravery of his associates, would be more than sufficient to overawe the numerous hired banditti assembled to oppose him, he had declined the proffered aid of those free Canadians, who had become attached to the settlement, as well as of the native Indians, who had voluntarily offered to come forward and assist him.

The other letter, which also brought intelligence of these occurrences to this country, was penned at Fort William by the Hon. Mr. William M'Gillivray. — *His* story was better put together than that composed by the Company's agents, then at Montreal, —and no wonder, —for he had with him, at the time, persons who had just returned from the Red River, and who, knowing the facts of the case, could easily assist him in mixing up such a composition of what *had* occurred, with what *had not* occurred, as might answer the purpose, if not of misleading his Majesty's Government (to whom the letter was submitted on the part of the North-West Company) at least of bringing odium upon Lord Selkirk, and his plans. The detail of Mr. M'Gillivray's account, it would be superfluous in me to enter upon. The substance is comprised in that part of Mr. Bourke's deposition, in which he swears to a conversation between two of the partners of the North-West Company, in which Mr. Alexander M'Donell stated, that, although the

sending down the half-breeds was certainly carrying things to an extremity—"it might be said, that "Governor Semple and those with him, had gone "out to attack them, (the half-breeds) and met "their fate*." This shrewd suggestion of that able partisan, Mr. Alexander M'Donell, contains the ground-work of every thing detailed in Mr. M'Gillivray's letter, which finished with a climax not unworthy of one of those "heads of the North-West Company, whose honourable character and liberal principles" we have seen so highly praised, by the Provincial Government in the year 1815, —namely, that he (M'Gillivray) thought it very fortunate that none of the people belonging to the North-West Company were *within a hundred miles of the spot*, at the time, otherwise the blame would have been thrown upon them as usual!

This restless anxiety to make the North-West Company appear innocent, before there was any accusation of guilt, raised a strong, and (as it has since proved) a well founded, suspicion, that the persons, of whom Mr. M'Gillivray asserted none to have been within a hundred miles of the scene of aggression, were in fact not only then upon the spot, but were themselves the actual aggressors.

I presume it is not necessary for me to pursue

* See Appendix, [B. B.] page lxxix.

this subject further.—I have only again, most earnestly to request the reader's attention to the documents which are subjoined to this Statement. These form but a small portion of the numerous depositions, declarations, and letters, which I have had an opportunity of examining ;—which it may be still deemed advisable to produce ;—and which, in various ways, and upon various points, confirm the documents submitted in the Appendix.—But enough, I conceive, has been brought forward, to refute calumny, and to correct misrepresentation,—enough to satisfy every impartial reader that what I have asserted, in a former part of this Statement, is but too well-founded, namely—that, from the first knowledge of an intention to form a colony upon the Red River, the North-West Company of Montreal determined to prevent it ;—that, to effect this determination, they did not scruple as to the means which were to be employed ;—that, as the probable success of the settlement became apparent, their attempts to destroy it, grew more atrocious ;—and that, at length, they proceeded to those unjustifiable measures which have terminated in the massacre of their fellow-subjects.

The transactions which I have pointed out are of a character not likely to be met with in any other part of the British Empire, and evidently call for a rigid inquiry. In aid of such inquiry let those cordially join, who, although commercially connected

with that powerful body, the North-West Company of Montreal, must have been kept in total ignorance of the proceedings which have thus ended in savage murders.—“ That these murders,” says Mr. Pritchard in concluding his narrative,—and, after a residence of thirteen years at the Red River, he is no mean authority,—“ that these murders “ of my friends and fellow settlers might have “ been prevented, if the partners of the North- “ West Company had been, in general, so dis- “ posed, is a point upon which no doubt can “ exist in the mind of any man who is acquainted “ with the state of the country.—It is a fact, “ which I can safely assert in the presence of “ Almighty God, and in the face of the world.”—To put an end to such a system of atrocity, it is obvious that no means should be neglected, nor any exertion spared.—Every measure which the Law can sanction, or the Executive power can enforce, should be strenuously adopted, to bring to a close that iron age of oppression, which has so long prevailed in the interior of British North America, and to put a final stop to those proceedings which his Majesty’s Government had marked as being “ so fatal to the tranquillity of “ our possessions in that quarter, and so disgraceful “ to the British name.”

APPENDIX.

[A.]

THE CHARTER OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY having been laid before Counsel, the following Opinions were given upon several of the Points submitted to them.

WE are of opinion, that the grant of the soil contained in the Charter is good; and that it will include all the country, the waters of which run into Hudson's Bay, as ascertained by geographical observations.

We are of opinion, that an individual holding from the Hudson's Bay Company a lease, or grant in fee-simple, of any portion of their territory, will be entitled to all the ordinary rights of landed property as in England, and will be entitled to prevent other persons from occupying any part of the lands, from cutting down timber, and fishing in the adjoining waters, (being such as a private right of fishing may subsist in), and may (if he can peaceably, or otherwise by due course of law) dispossess them of any buildings which they have recently erected within the limits of his property.

We are of opinion, that the grant of the civil and criminal jurisdiction is valid, but it is not granted to the Company, but to the Governor and Council at their respective establishments; but we cannot recom-

mend it to be exercised so as to affect the lives or limbs of criminals.—It is to be exercised by the Governor and Council as judges, who are to proceed according to the laws of England.

The Company may appoint a sheriff to execute judgments, and to do his duty as in England.

We are of opinion, that the sheriff, in case of resistance to his authority, may call out the population to his assistance, and may put arms into the hands of their servants, for defence against attack, and to assist in enforcing the judgments of the Court; but such powers cannot be exercised with too much circumspection.

We are of opinion, that all persons will be subject to the jurisdiction of the Court, who reside, or are found within the territories over which it extends.

We do not think this Act (43rd Geo. III. c. 138*) gives jurisdiction within the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, the same being within the jurisdiction of their own Governors and Council.

We are of opinion, that the Governor (in Hudson's Bay) might, under the authority of the Company, appoint constables and other officers for the preservation of the peace, and that the officers so appointed would have the same duties and privileges as similar officers in England, so far as these duties and privileges may be applicable to their situation in the territories of the Company.

(Signed)

SAMUEL ROMILLY,
G. S. HOLROYD,
WM. CRUISE,
J. SCARLETT,
JOHN BELL.

* Commonly called the Canada Jurisdiction Act.

[B.]

MR. MILES MACDONNELL, who was governor of the district of Ossiniboia, and had charge of the Red River settlement, expected a considerable addition of new settlers in the Autumn of 1814, and being apprehensive that a scarcity of provisions might be felt, if early measures were not taken to obtain a sufficient quantity, he (in the month of January of that year) gave notice to the traders, both of the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies, that, at the opening of the navigation, no more provisions would be allowed to be carried out of the district, than what might be requisite for the consumption of those traders; it being, as he thought, an indispensable duty in him to provide for the resident inhabitants of the district. The traders of both Companies, who had collected provisions from the Indians (from whom they are generally procured), were to be paid a fair price for such as he retained. The Hudson Bay traders accordingly delivered up their surplus provisions; but those of the North-West Company refused, and attempted to carry out of the district all the provisions they had collected. Upon this, Mr. Miles Macdonell issued a warrant, under which a seizure of provisions was made by Mr. Spencer, the sheriff. This proceeding gave rise to considerable discussions between Mr. Miles Macdonell and Mr. Duncan Cameron, and others of the North-West Company; and upon their representing that their trade would suffer in other parts of the country, if deprived of these provisions, an agreement was entered into, the purport of which was, that the North-West Company should retain the quantity requisite for their trade at that time, and should supply

Mr. Miles Macdonell with an equal quantity in the winter, if it should be wanted, for the use of the resident settlers. This agreement was not sanctioned by the subsequent general meeting of the North-West partners, who refused to confirm the acts of their agents. An information was laid before Mr. Norman M'Leod, one of their partners, and a magistrate for the Indian territory, who granted a warrant to apprehend Mr. Miles Macdonell on a criminal charge of burglary and robbery.

Mr. Macdonell (though he did not admit that he was amenable to the jurisdiction under which the warrant was issued) surrendered himself, (for the reasons stated in page 29,) and was carried down to Montreal, where it does not appear that any trial has taken place. Mr. Spencer, the sheriff, had previously been apprehended under a similar warrant, and carried away from the Red River settlement in the beginning of September 1814, and detained in the custody of the North-West Company till the month of August in the following year, when that Company thought fit, at length, to bring him down to Montreal; but his trial has not yet taken place.

[C.]

LETTERS FROM D. CAMERON TO THE SETTLERS AT
RED RIVER.

To Messrs. Donald Livingston,
and Hector M^cEachern, per }
Bostonois Pangman.

Gibraltar, 10th February, 1815.

Sirs,

Your letter of the 28th ultimo, by Jordan, came safe to hands, and I am very glad that the eyes of some of you are getting open at last to the situation you are placed in, in this barbarous country, and that you now see your past follies in obeying the unlawful orders of a plunderer, and, I may say, of a highway robber, for what took place here last spring can be called nothing else but manifest robbery.—But I am very willing to forgive as many as repent of the poor deluded men, as I know that they are not bad men in principles, although made so by bad leaders and bad advice. You say very true, when you mention that you did not know your friends from your foes; the greatest enemies ever you had, is Lord Selkirk, Doctor Auld, and Miles M^cDonell, who was made a fool of by them, and he made fools of all those that were under him. I know all the bad usage you got, and the many injustices that were done to every one of you since you left your own country, the like I never heard before, and none but hard-hearted bad men would use their fellow-creatures in such a manner. In pity to your present deplorable situations, as I consider you to be in the very worst of prisons here, I accept your offers, and will be very happy to take so

many of my countrymen and fellow-subjects out of bondage, as I know very well that Lord Selkirk will never take any of you home, whatever promises Miles M'Donell may make you to the contrary.—You have already been often deceived by both of them, and they will deceive you again and again, if they can, without being ashamed of it, as deception is their very best trade, therefore I'll be proud of being your deliverer; I do not ask you a penny for your passage or provisions to go out with; you are going to a good country, where you may make a decent living for yourselves and families; we'll oblige ourselves to get lands for those that chooses to take them, and will throw none of you on the highway as beggars till you can provide for yourselves. I have no interest whatever in making you these promises, but what humanity points out to me.—With regard to your wages, I can say very little on that subject without seeing how your agreements are made out, but it is not an easy matter to make any one lose his salary, which is not like another debt. If you can only get a copy of your accounts, and get them signed by Miles M'Donell, we'll do our best to recover the money for you; but if you could get drafts on the Hudson's Bay Company for the balance of your wages, I would myself be answerable to you for every penny of it. I am told the great captain is going to pay you a visit, you'll, I believe, find him a better master than usual, but you may thank me for that, and not him, as he is afraid of what will soon happen to him. I said last fall, when M'Vicar was abusing me very much, and very undeservedly, that I would, perhaps, be the best friend ever the colonists met with, and I hope to make my word good to such as will deserve it of me; but, at the same time, I shall certainly be the greatest enemy they

met with yet to any one that will again take up arms to fly in the face of the law, or to plunder.—I remember that you, Livingston, did not take arms last fall; don't be afraid that Captain M'Donell will ever know any of my secrets from me, but take care that Mrs. M'Lean here will know none of your secrets, for she would sell her own brother to him, if he was here. I am afraid you'll not be able to read this scrawl, as I am really in great haste, and remain,

Your sincere well-wisher,
(Signed) D. CAMERON.

P.S. You may trust the Bearer with any thing you may have to say.

*Messrs. Hector M'Eachern, }
and Donald Livingston. }*

Gibraltar, 10th March, 1815.

YOUR joint letter of the 6th instant, was handed to me by honest John Somerville, and I am happy, on your own accounts, that you are still of the same way of thinking, as it will afford me an opportunity of delivering so many people from bondage, and not only that, but even to save your lives, which is every day in danger from both Soteuse and Scioux.—Besides, if the country was both peaceable and good, Captain M'Donnell's violent and foolish conduct would drive all honest men out of it, as none but rogues and robbers will answer his purpose.—You tell me that John M'Vicar will, perhaps, become a Canadian yet; I certainly have great cause to be displeased with him for his violent conduct and abusive language to me last fall, and

could even get him tried for his life, but still my humanity is such as to pardon all that.—If he will acknowledge his fault, and make application to me for a passage, he shall have it, and I pledge my word and honour that nothing shall be attempted against him for his past conduct, as I am much more inclined to save the lives of poor people than I am to mean revenge against a countryman, who, I am told, is the son of an honest respectable man. M'Eachern, and any others that chooses to come here, shall be made welcome, and shall be protected against any insult.—As for any money any of you had in their hands, they will make such accounts against all married men for the maintenance of their families, that there will not be a penny coming to them. You need not expect any justice whatever from them here, but, perhaps, you may get it elsewhere by law ; however, the surest way is to get whatever you can out of their store, and I will take any article that can be of use here off of your hands, and pay you in Canada for them ; my door is open to any one that chooses to come, at all times, and we'll make the best shift we can for living till spring.

I remain,
Your sincere well-wisher,
(Signed) D. CAMERON.

The originals of the above letters were given in by H. M'Eachern with his deposition, taken, upon oath, at Montreal, in October 1815.

*To the Servants of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, and
those of the Settlement of Red River.*

My Lads,

You have once already been fully apprized by a gentleman here, that in all our endeavours to bring the prisoner, Mr. Miles M'Donell, to justice, the smallest intention to injure your persons, public or private property, as well as that of your employers, was never by me in contemplation.—As several of you were not then present, and are probably now deluded by your employers, by advising you to act contrary to law, I think it necessary, once more for all, to advise you as a fellow-subject, to pay due respect, submission, and obedience, to the law of our blessed constitution.—And, I further declare, that any person or persons who shall be found in future attempting, by any means, to rescue and screen the prisoner from justice, shall immediately be considered as accomplices in his crimes, and treated accordingly. That your own good sense and judgment may dictate to you, free of party spirit, a true sense of the impropriety of violating, or acting in direct opposition to, your country's laws, is, my Lads, the sincere wish of your well-wisher,

(Signed)

D. CAMERON,
*Captain, Voyageur Corps,
Commanding Officer, Red River.*

*Red River, Indian Territory,
June 7, 1815.*

[D.]

Deposition of Michael M'Donnell.

Montreal, } MICHAEL M'DONNELL, late of Red
to wit. } River, in the territories of the Hudson
Bay Company, a clerk in the service of Earl Selkirk
at Red River aforesaid, now at the city of Montreal,
in the province of Lower Canada, maketh oath, That
about the eighteenth day of April last, the deponent,
being then a clerk in the service of the Earl of
Selkirk as aforesaid, was apprehended and made
prisoner by the servants of the North-West Com-
pany, under a warrant under the hand and seal of
A. Norman M'Leod, Esq. for an alledged breach of the
peace, and was conveyed and detained a prisoner at a
fort or post in the possession of the said North-West
Company, at a place called the Forks, at Red River
aforesaid.—That while the deponent was detained at
the said fort or post, the same was under the command
and orders of one Duncan Cameron, a partner in the
said North-West Company, in whose custody the
deponent was.—That, on or about the tenth day of June
last, the deponent being still in the said fort, an attack
was made by an armed force, composed of persons under
the orders of the said Duncan Cameron, (who were
furnished with arms and ammunition for that purpose
in the said fort,) on the settlement of the colonists at Red
River aforesaid, in the night of that day, and upon the
return of the party to the said fort or post, the deponent
heard one Cuthbert Grant, a man of the half-breed, and
a clerk in the service of the said North-West Company,
who had been one of the party by which the said attack

was made, declare, that not a man of the said settlement should put out his head the next day without being popped off, and this was said in the presence and hearing of the said Duncan Cameron, who acquiesced in, and approved of what was so said by the said Cuthbert Grant. That the day following the said party of men sallied forth from the said fort about break of day to renew the attack on the said settlement, and upon their return, the deponent heard the said Grant, and one Seraphim, also a clerk in the service of the said North-West Company, and others of the said party, speak of the attack which they had just made on the Government House in the said settlement, in which it was said some of the settlers or persons residing in the colony had been wounded, and several of them boasted of what they had done. That the consequence of the said attacks was a surrender of the said settlement to the said Duncan Cameron, and the houses and buildings of all descriptions were afterwards burnt by the persons aforesaid, being under the command and orders of the said Duncan Cameron, and the settlers and inhabitants of the colony conveyed away by, or under, the orders of the said Duncan Cameron.—That, after the destruction of the said settlement as aforesaid, the deponent, while a prisoner in the said fort, was present at part of a speech made by Alexander M'Donell, one of the partners in the said North-West Company, to the persons in the said fort, in which he assured the Canadians, and Indians of the half-breed, by whom the said settlement had been destroyed, that they would be supported by the said North-West Company in every thing they had done. That the deponent has heard the said Duncan Cameron and Alexander M'Donell say, that the settlement aforesaid could not succeed without the counte-

nance of the said North-West Company, and he has also heard them declare that there should be no settlement there. That while the deponent was a prisoner as aforesaid, various inducements were held out to him by the said Duncan Cameron and Alexander M'Donell, to enter into the service of the said North-West Company, which he declined doing. That while the deponent was in the said fort, he saw there horses, muskets, cannon, and farming utensils, which had belonged to the said colony, and which were then in the use of the persons in the said fort.

(Signed) MICHAEL M'DONNELL.

Sworn at Montreal, this 20th day of

September, 1815, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS M'CORD, J. P.

[E.]

Deposition of John Cooper.

Home District, } THE information of John Cooper,
York, to wit. } late of Red River, in the district of
 Ossiniboia, territories of the Hudson's Bay Company,
 who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, saith,
 that he went from Orkneys in the year 1811, as an
 indented servant, and arrived at Red River in autumn
 1812, along with Miles Macdonell, Esq. governor of the
 settlement, and continued under his command till the
 expiration of his contract in 1814, at which time he, the
 deponent, was entitled to a free passage home, and
 might have gone home if he had desired it, but he pre-
 ferred remaining at Red River as a settler.—That he
 married about the end of the year 1813, and that next
 spring, before his contracted period of service was

expired, he was allowed to plant a piece of ground with potatoes for his own use, from which he had an abundant crop.—That most of the crops had been reaped while the deponent was absent from the settlement, but he was informed that the crops of wheat and barley were good; that he, the deponent, had no intention of leaving Red River, and never applied to the North-West Company for the means of going away; but that early last winter Mr. Duncan Cameron, master of the trading post of the said North-West Company on Red River, advised him, deponent, to go to Canada, and offered to procure the means of conveyance for him, saying, that he should be brought to a good country, where the settlers might save their lives and be in a good situation. He, the said Duncan Cameron, also told him, deponent, that the Indians intended to destroy the settlers at Red River, men, women, and children, and were restrained only by the influence of himself, the said Duncan Cameron; that these representations were repeated to the deponent several different times before he agreed to come away from the settlement, and he did not agree till he heard that a great many of the other settlers had resolved to go. That on the morning of the day when the cannon of the colony were taken away by the settlers, George Campbell came to the house of Neil M'Kinnon, where deponent resided, and read to them a paper or letter from the said Duncan Cameron, saying, that the settlers must take the cannon, otherwise they would themselves be in danger from them. He, deponent, would not agree to assist in removing the cannon, but agreed to go along with George Campbell into the house occupied by the officers of the settlement, in order to deliver Mr. Duncan Cameron's letter; that, while they were thus engaged,

the cannon had been taken out by others of the settlers, and placed on sledges, on which they were carried away; and when he, deponent, came out of the house, he saw the said Duncan Cameron, who was coming out of a wood at a short distance, and went with the settlers and the cannon to his own fort or trading post, where he took in the cannon, and entertained, with drams, all those who had assisted in bringing them.—That the deponent soon after left the settlement, and went to another trading post of the North-West Company, from which he returned in the month of May, and staid for ten or twelve days at the aforesaid fort on Red River, where he saw a great number of men assembled. There were many more of the Canadian servants of the North-West Company than had been there during the winter.—Also, about thirty half-Indians, who expressed violent hostility against the settlement.—He, deponent, had been, in the course of the winter, in the plains near Pembina, where he saw the same half-Indians, and heard them express the same hostility against the settlement; but the deponent never saw any thing of the same kind during the two preceding winters; that, on the contrary, many of the same half-Indians were then in the habit of trading with the officers of the settlement, and supplying them with buffaloe meat and other game, which they refused to sell last winter.

(Signed) JOHN COOPER.

Sworn before me, at York, the

12th day of February, 1816,

(Signed) ALEXANDER WOOD, J. P.

[F.]

Deposition of Robert Sutherland.

Home District, } THE information of Robert Sutherland,
to wit. } land, late of Red River, in the district
of Ossiniboia, territories of the Hudson's Bay Company.
Deponent being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists,
saith, that he arrived at Red River in June 1814, and
was well pleased with the appearance of the country;
that the crops which he saw in the ensuing harvest were
very good; and the wheat was good. That he, deponent,
understood that the settlers in general were as well
pleased as himself, nor thought of leaving the country
till after the arrest of Mr. Spencer; and the deponent
is of opinion, that if Mr. Spencer had not been taken
away, none of the settlers would have thought of leaving
the country. That the deponent never observed any
appearance of hostility among the Indians, whom they,
the settlers, saw during the summer, nor entertained any
apprehension of danger, till they, the settlers, heard
from the servants of the North-West Company, that
Duncan Cameron, master of this trading post of the said
Company, told deponent and his wife, that the Indians
would come in the spring, and murder all the settlers,
after he, Duncan Cameron, would leave the place in
the spring, when the Indians would certainly murder
them all. Duncan Cameron also said, that Miles
Macdonnell, Esq. governor of the settlement would
have no provisions to give to the settlers, unless he
(Miles Macdonnell) would take it by force, as he had
done before; for that reason, Duncan Cameron told
deponent and his wife, that they might have a passage
to Canada, if they chose; and said to deponent and his
wife, they should not only have a free passage to

Canada, but that the Government would give them lands and provisions for a year; or, if Government did not do so, the North-West Company would. That deponent was with the said Duncan Cameron about half an hour; deponent's wife went with him; and that Cameron, during that time, told them of the intentions of the Indians, after he (Cameron) left the place; and promised deponent and his wife a passage to Canada, free of expense, lands and provisions, as stated before. That deponent and his wife had gone to the said Cameron, in consequence of the reports about the Indians, and for the purpose of asking a passage from the said Cameron.—Deponent frequently heard Cameron say, that he was a King's officer, and that Miles Macdonnell, Esq. had no authority from the King, or no lawful authority. Deponent heard a letter read by George Campbell, one of the settlers from Duncan Cameron, saying, that it was necessary for the settlers to take possession of the cannon of the colony, in order to prevent mischief; and that he, Duncan Cameron, would indemnify the settlers from the consequences of taking them.—That deponent was present when the settlers, in pursuance of this advice, did seize upon and carry away the cannon; that as soon as they had possession of them, a shot was fired; which deponent believes to have been intended as a signal; and that, immediately after, the said Duncan Cameron came out of a wood, where he had been concealed, at a short distance, along with Cuthbert Grant, and William Shaw, clerks in the service of the North-West Company, and a party of armed men, who conducted the guns to the fort, or trading post of the said Company, when each of the settlers present at the taking of the guns, got a dram.—Deponent says, that in the month of January, when Miles

Macdonnell, Esq. set out for Pembina, a number of the young men at the settlement were desired to go with him to the plains, in order to procure buffaloe meat; they refused to go. Deponent heard the said Duncan Cameron say, that Miles Macdonnell would not be able to get any meat in the plains, because he had not paid his hunters last year, and none would hunt for him now; and deponent believes that it was in consequence of these representations, that the settlers refused to go with the said Miles Macdonnell to the plains.

Deponent says, that on the cannon being put into the French fort, the settlers returned to their houses, where they staid a few days, and then went on with George Campbell, about three days journey; when George Campbell told them, that William Shaw was made prisoner, and they, the settlers, must go back and relieve him, the said Shaw: that the settlers were all armed, and had powder and shot, and that they did return; that William Shaw was liberated without their assistance, and they again set out on their journey.

His

(Signed) ROBERT + SUTHERLAND.

Mark.

Sworn before me, at York, the

17th February, 1816.

(Signed) ALEXANDER WOOD, J. P.

[G.]

Deposition of Angus M'Kay.

Home District, } THE information of Angus M'Kay,
to wit. } late of Red River, in the district of
 Ossiniboia, and territory of the Hudson's Bay Company,
 who saith, that it is consistent with his knowledge, that

when Miles Macdonnell, Esq. governor of the country of Ossiniboia, set out from the Forks of Red River, in the month of January, last year, he desired that a number of the young men should go with him to the plains, in order to procure provisions for themselves and the rest of the settlers; but that they refused to go, having been led to believe, that it was his intention to rob the North-West Company of their provisions, instead of procuring them fairly.—That the deponent was in dread of the Indians; having been told by officers of the North-West Company, that the Indians intended to murder all the settlers; and he was also in fear of want of provisions; in consequence of which, the deponent applied to Duncan Cameron, master of the North-West Company's trading post, by whom he was assured that all the settlers should receive lands in Upper Canada; and if Government would not give them, the North-West Company would.

That in the month of March, it was reported among the settlers, that Mr. Archibald M'Donald had said, that the cannon should be mounted on the large boat, to prevent the settlers from going away; and, that the same had been said by three Irish labourers in the service of the colony; which reports created great uneasiness among the settlers; that on a Saturday evening, about the end of March, George Campbell communicated to John Matheson, junior, and to the deponent, a plan for seizing the cannon on the following Monday, at the time when the settlers would be assembled at the store-house of the colony, to receive their monthly supply of provisions; and that the said George Campbell read them a letter from the said Duncan Cameron, saying, that all the settlers who wished to go to Canada, must help to take the cannon; and George Campbell

also read to the deponent a copy of a letter from the said Duncan Cameron to Archibald M'Donald, ordering him to deliver up the cannon, because they were used to stop the king's highway, meaning the navigation of the river; and declaring that the cannon should be taken only to prevent harm, and not to make any bad use of them.—That, on the following day, the said George Campbell, with the deponent, and John Matheson, communicated this order to the rest of the settlers who had assembled for divine service.—That, on the forenoon of Monday, the settlers assembled as had been agreed upon; and after most of them had received their supply of provisions, George Campbell took the deponent and another of the settlers with him into the house, to deliver a letter to Mr. Archibald M'Donald, which the deponent understood to be the order from Mr. Duncan Cameron, to deliver up the cannon.—That Mr. M'Donald did not attempt to resist, but called three witnesses, (one Kilbride was one of them; deponent does not know the others,) to attest that they were taken by force against his will; that, in the mean time, others of the settlers had taken the cannon out of the store; and when the deponent came out of the house, they were nearly ready to be carried away, on the sledges which had been prepared.—That when they were ready, one of the settlers, whom the deponent believes to have been Robert Gunn, fired a shot, and that Mr. Duncan Cameron then came forward, and met the settlers at the distance of thirty or forty yards from the house, when he shook hands with some of them, signifying his pleasure at what they had done.—That the deponent afterwards left the Red River, and came to Canada in the canoes of the North-West Company, and was for some time at Fort William on his way,

where he heard several of the clerks of the North-West Company say, that the Company were in no fear of the consequences of what they had done at Red River.—The persons who went in to deliver the order to M'Donald, to deliver the cannon, were deponent, Andrew M'Beth, and George Campbell, who went in first.

(Signed)

ANGUS M'KAY.

Sworn before me, at York, in the
Home District, Province of Upper
Canada, the 10th day of February,
1816.

(Signed)

ALEXANDER WOOD, J. P.

[H.]

Deposition of Neil M'Kinnon.

Home District, } INFORMATION of Neil M'Kinnon,
York, to wit. } late of Red River, in the district of
Ossiniboia, territories of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Deponent being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, saith, that he arrived at Red River aforesaid, in the year 1812, that the Indians always behaved in a very friendly manner to the settlers, and they never had any fear of them till last winter.—Mr. Duncan Cameron, master of the trading post of the North-West Company at the Forks of Red River, told the settlers, that the Indians had determined to murder them all, unless they would quit the settlement.—Deponent heard this story from George Campbell.—That about the month of January last, the said Duncan Cameron advised deponent to go to Canada, and offered to give him a passage in the canoes of the North-West Company. Cameron said

Canada was a good country, and he would take him to Montreal. That on the day when the cannon were taken away by the settlers, deponent was at John Matheson's house, about a quarter of a mile distant, and saw a party of men conceal themselves in a clump of wood within a short distance of the house belonging to the governor of the colony, where they waited till the settlers had brought out the cannon, and then came forward to receive them, and convey them to the fort, or trading post of the North-West Company.—That when deponent went away from Red River, deponent had some implements of agriculture out of the store of the colony; that when he was coming away, he asked Mr. Duncan Cameron whether he should return them into the store of the colony. Cameron said, "put them into my store; if Lord Selkirk has any right to them they shall be returned to him, but they are marked down against you in the books, and you will have to pay for them whether or not;" and he did deliver into the store of the North-West Company, two hoes, one axe, and one spade. He also gave in other articles belonging to himself, and deponent received seven or eight pounds for them from Duncan Cameron after he had come to Fort William on Lake Superior. Deponent thought that by delivering back these things he would not have to pay for them hereafter.

His

(Signed)

NEIL + M'KINNON.

Mark.

Sworn before me, at York,

16th February, 1816,

(Signed) ALEXANDER WOOD, J. P.

[I.]

Deposition of Michael Kilbride.

*District of } THE information of Michael Kilbride,
Ossimiboia. }* taken upon oath before me, Miles Macdonell, Esq. one of his Majesty's justices of the peace in said district.

Deponent declares, that on Monday, the 3rd of April instant, about one o'clock, P. M. George Campbell entered the servant's house, and told him, that they were going to take away the field-pieces. Deponent told the said George Campbell that that was a bad business. Campbell replied, that they could not help it, as it was Captain Cameron's orders that the field-pieces should be taken to his fort till the settlers left this country; and the said George Campbell, at the same time, shewed deponent a pair of pocket pistols, which he thinks was done with the intention of frightening him. Deponent went out to inform Mr. Bourke, but could not find him. He then saw the artillery on horse-sledges, George Bannerman taking hold of a small howitzer, and Robert Gunn standing opposite the door of one of the store-houses with a gun across his breast, which he fired as soon as the artillery were drawn away. —Immediately Mr. Duncan Cameron, with a gun in his hand, was seen coming out of the wood, at the head of a party of armed men. When he came to the settlers, deponent saw him shake hands with them, and heard him exclaim, "Well done, my hearty fellows!" and ask them if there were any more. The deponent also saw John Early with Mr. Cameron's party, and Donald M'Kinnon, John Murray, and others, guarding the

outer door of the Government Building, during the time the settlers were carrying away the field-pieces.

His

MICHAEL + KILBRIDE.

Mark.

Sworn at Red River Settlement, this

25th day of April, 1815, before me,

MILES MACDONELL, J. P.

[K.]

Deposition of John Bourke.

*District of } THE information of Mr. John Bourke,
Ossimboia. }* taken upon oath before me, Miles Macdonell, Esq. one of his Majesty's justices of the peace in said district.

Deponent declares, that on Monday, the 3rd day of April instant, the settlers assembled there to be supplied with provisions, and that about the hour of one, P. M. of the same day, he saw several pieces of the colonial artillery on a horse-sledge, and that he laid hold of one of them to take it off, but was seized by several of the settlers, and told to keep off. Deponent then attempted to get into the mess-room, where Messrs. White and M'Donald were, to inform them of what was going on, but was stopped by Donald Mackinnon, John Murray, and others. Deponent afterwards endeavoured to get into the store-house, where he had been serving out the provisions, but was kept back by Robert Gunn, who guarded the door with a gun across his breast. Deponent further says, that he had not remained long outside till those who guarded the outer door of the main building told him that he might now enter. Deponent

further declares, that he saw Mr. Duncan Cameron, of the North-West Company, at the head of a party of armed men coming out of the wood, and as he approached the settlers, heard him cry out not to be afraid. Depo-
nent afterwards went into the store-house, where the field-pieces were, and found that all of them were carried away, and also a small howitzer.

JOHN P. BOURKE.

Sworn at Red River Settlement, the

25th day of April, 1815, before me,

MILES MACDONELL, J. P.

[L.]

Deposition of Hector M'Eachern.

Montreal, } HECTOR M'Eachern, late of the colony
to wit. } of Red River, within the territories of the
Hudson's Bay Company, in North America, now at the
city of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, taylor,
maketh oath, that he was employed in the service of the
said colony for nearly three years previous to the month
of June last, and lived there with his wife and family.
That after some difficulties which they encountered in
the first winter after they arrived, were got over, the
colonists, and the servants employed in the service of the
colony, were well satisfied with their situation; they
found the soil and climate excellent, and great facility
in obtaining food; and there was none of them that did
not desire to remain in the country. This disposition
prevailed till the agents and servants of the North-West

Company, and particularly one Duncan Cameron, a partner in that Company, employed themselves in exciting dissatisfaction in the minds of some of the settlers and servants, whom they endeavoured to induce to abandon the colony, and go over to the North-West Company; by which great promises of advantage were made to them.—That before these intrigues were practised, every body looked forward to the rapid improvement of the colony; the settlers were so well pleased with it, that they had written to invite their friends in Scotland to follow them; and the indentured servants, who had a right to a passage home, preferred remaining as settlers, and applied to Captain M'Donnell for land, that they might become permanent settlers in the colony. That the said Duncan Cameron, as the deponent believes, in order to increase his influence and authority, gave himself out as being a captain in the King's military service, and wore regimentals, with a sword, &c.—And one Seraphim, a clerk under him, was said to be his ensign. That a short time before the attack on the settlement in June last, the said Cameron, the better to confirm the belief of his military rank and authority, posted over the gate of the place called Fort Gibraltar, written papers, the purport of which was to give him such rank and authority: and on his way down, at a trading-post of the North-West Company, called Fort William, the deponent saw new regimental dresses, which had been received for partners in the North-West Company; and he saw two of the said partners there dressed in military uniform. That no apprehensions were felt by the colonists at Red River, upon the score of the Indians, the best understanding having subsisted between them: the Soutoux nation dwelling on and

near Red River, in particular, were always kind and obliging, and seemed better disposed towards the settlers than towards the North-West Company: they even continued to hunt as usual for the settlers, after the Canadians and Indians of the half-breed, under the influence of the North-West Company, had refused to do so. The persons who took part with the North-West Company, and under their influence, and at their instigation, became unfriendly to the settlers, were the said Canadians and Indians of the half-breed, who might altogether be in number about ninety or one hundred. The said Canadians consist of men from Lower Canada, who came to the country in the service of the North-West Company, and have been discharged, and now live with Indian women, and of persons of the same description, who are still in the service of that Company; and the said Indians of the half-breed may be thirty or forty in number, and are the natural children of persons in the service of the North-West Company, by Indian women; and many of them are employed in the same service.

That the deponent was at Fort Gibraltar, when nine or ten Indians of the Cree nation were brought thither by Alexander M'Donell, one of the partners of the North-West Company, in May or June last. They were feasted and kept drunk in the said fort for several days, and were then sent to speak to Captain M'Donell; and two or three days after went away. That while the deponent was at the said Fort Gibraltar, as aforesaid, he, the deponent, saw there in the hands of the North-West Company, nine pieces of cannon, which had been provided and used for the defence of the settlement at Red River; and which had been, a few months before,

stolen and carried away from thence, and brought to the said fort; where, upon one occasion, the deponent saw two of them used, and fired from.

(Signed) HECTOR M'EACHERN.

Sworn at Montreal, this

5th December, 1815,

before me,

(Signed) THOMAS M'CORD, J. P.

[M.]

Deposition of Hector M'Leod.

Home District, } HECTOR M'LEOD, late of the dis-
York, to wit. } trict of Ossiniboia, being duly sworn,
 saith, that he was engaged along with several others of the settlers at the Red River, in seizing upon and carrying away, and delivering up to the North-West Company several pieces of cannon, the property of the Earl of Selkirk, which had been provided for the defence of the settlement; that he, the deponent, was induced to join in this act, by the assurances of George Campbell and others, who represented that Miles Macdonell, governor of the said district of Ossiniboia, would use force to prevent the settlers from going away; and that, unless the cannon were taken away from him, they would never be able to go away; and that if they remained, the settlers would all be murdered by the Indians. That he, the deponent, saw a letter, which was read to him by John Matheson, or George Campbell, from Duncan Cameron, one of the partners of the North-West Company, ordering the settlers to take away the cannon; and warranting that he, the said Duncan Cameron, would indemnify them from any penal consequences; and he,

the deponent, believes that the said Duncan Cameron had authority to act as he did; as he had frequently heard him say, that he was a King's officer; and that on the day the cannon were seized as aforesaid, the said Duncan Cameron came, with several of his clerks and other persons in the service of the North-West Company, to meet the settlers, and received the cannon from them, and carried them away to the trading post of the said North-West Company in the neighbourhood, where he, the deponent, has frequently seen the said cannon afterwards mounted on carriages and prepared for service.

That he, the deponent, had received from Miles Macdonell, Esq. a musket in trust, to be used for his own defence, and that of the settlement; which musket, he, deponent, carried to the said trading post of the North-West Company, and there delivered it to the said Duncan Cameron, or some person authorised by him; and that the said musket was there left by the deponent, and was neither brought away by him, nor restored to the stores of the settlement.—That he, the deponent, was for several days, in the month of June last, at a camp at Frog Plain, along with a number of half-Indians, Canadians, and others, under the command of Alexander M'Donell, a partner of the North-West Company, by whom he was frequently stationed as a centinel, to see that no boat should pass down the river without his permission. That during his stay in this camp, he knew that the said half-Indians had made prisoners of several of the settlers who were remaining peaceably in their own houses; and he saw them ride over the cultivated ground belonging to several of the said settlers, in such a manner as to tread down and destroy their crops. The settlers brought away, were Alexander Sutherland,

Adam Sutherland, George Sutherland, Catherine Sutherland, Catherine M'Pherson, John Smith, his wife, four sons, and two daughters. The said people were brought away against their wills; that the party who went for them were headed by Mr. M'Lean, a clerk of the North-West Company, and that some of the party were armed with loaded guns. Deponent heard said M'Lean tell these settlers, unless they came away, the half-Indians would burn their houses about them. Deponent saw a party go from the North-West fort; the party were headed by Mr. Grant, Mr. Shaw, of the North-West Company, and Early, one of the settlers, for the purpose of burning the houses of the settlement.—Deponent saw them set fire to Captain Macdonell's house; that is, Miles Macdonell, Esq. governor of the territory. Two big houses, the horse mill, and several other houses, with the store-houses, were burnt.—He, deponent, saw the party assist in getting out the goods out of the houses, before they set them on fire, and during the time they were burning; that the horses, hoes, spades, and axes, were sold to the North-West Company; and the settlers were paid for them by Duncan Cameron, who gave at the rate of one dollar for an axe.

His

HECTOR + M'LEOD.

Mark.

Sworn before me, at York, in
the Home District, Province
of Upper Canada, the 14th
February, 1816.

(Signed) ALEXANDER WOOD, J. P.

[N.]

Declaration of George Sutherland.

GEORGE SUTHERLAND, late settler at Red River, saith, that on or about the 4th day of April last, he and James M'Kay, settler, received a note by the hands of John Matheson, Jun. the following of which is a copy :—

I do hereby order James M'Kay, and George Sutherland, to give up their muskets in the King's name.

D. CAMERON,

Gibraltar.

V. C.

Deponent would not obey the order : Matheson then wanted to know where his musket was, and as deponent had it concealed, he would not tell him. On or about the 15th of April last, a party of the late settlers and North-West Company's servants, consisting of about thirty men, entered deponent's house, took out his musket, and gave it to George Campbell. Deponent asked it back several times, but could not get it. George Campbell threatened to lash him on one of the sledges, and carry him a prisoner to the North-West Company's fort, and William Sutherland presented his gun at him. Several of the late settlers repeatedly came to deponent's house with messages from Mr. Duncan Cameron, that he would still take him with the rest to Canada, if he would go. On or about the 11th of June

last, deponent, Adam Sutherland, his brother, and Allan Smith, went up to the Government House, and when they returned home they were told by John Smith, that others of the settlers had been taken away by a party of the North-West Company's servants and half-breeds, commanded by Mr. Lauchlin M'Lean, a clerk in the service of the North-West Company, to an encampment they had formed at Frog Plain. When deponent, his brother, and Allan Smith, arrived at their house, they found their baggage packed up, and some of the North-West Company's servants and half-breeds soon afterwards arrived, and forced them to go to the encampment at the Frog Plain. The same party took deponent's trading gun and powder-horn, which were never returned. Deponent declares, that Mr. Alexander M'Donell, a partner of the North-West Company, who had the command, went into the tent where the settlers were, and told them, as they were countrymen of his, he would be candid with them in telling them, that they (*viz.* the North-West Company,) were the means of saving them from the half-breeds, as it was quite uncertain but that they would kill them in the night if they remained in their houses. Deponent also saith, that Mr. Alexander M'Donell sent Mr. Lauchlin M'Lean for a piece of paper to write down their names, and he began at the top with "Prisoners of War," with their names annexed. After this, deponent heard Mr. Alexander M'Donell say in English, to Mr. Lauchlin M'Lean, to tell the settlers in Gaelic, that it was of no use to conceal what their intentions were, that they would take them prisoners to Canada if they did not consent to go as the others did. Deponent answered if he was obliged to go, he would rather go as a prisoner,

as he knew there was nothing against him. Deponent argued in behalf of the rest, and at last was told by Mr. Alexander M'Donell, that "he was a devil of a brat of a boy, and, as he was young, what sense had he more than the rest?" He then gave deponent and the rest a few minutes to make up their minds what to do. Deponent then called Allan Smith out of the tent to consult with him, but was soon after told by Mr. William Shaw, that Mr. M'Donell wanted him. A man, under the name of a constable, then clapped his hand on deponent's shoulder, and Mr. M'Donell told him that he was a prisoner in the King's name. Deponent arguing with Mr. M'Donell, was told by him, if he did not keep quiet, that he would get him stripped, and would make the people in the camp flog him. Deponent was then put into a separate tent from his friends. Mr. Duncan Cameron arrived at the camp and inquired where deponent and the rest of the settlers were. Deponent answered and went out. He was repeatedly told by Mr. Duncan Cameron to be silent, if not, that he would be put in irons. A few days after that, deponent was removed to a camp where the North-West Company had erected a battery close to the Government House of Red River settlement. The camp consisted of about sixty men, North-West Company's servants, half-breeds, and some of the late settlers and servants of Red River settlement, all under the command of Mr. Alexander M'Donell. Deponent heard Mr. Lauchlin M'Lean, Donald M'Kinnon, and others, saying that they would have Captain Miles Macdonell dead or alive.

After deponent was liberated, he went twice to the North-West Company's fort for his trading gun and his brother's. Mr. Alexander M'Donell told deponent, he

was such a good lawyer, that he should not get the guns till he tried it. Deponent called some of the people around him as witnesses that his private property was taken from him by force.

GEORGE SUTHERLAND.

Sworn at Winnipic Settlement, Hudson's
Bay Company's Territories, 11th day
of August, 1815, before me,

ARCHIBALD M'DONALD,
Counsellor.

Witness { JAMES WHITE, Surgeon.
 { J. P. BOURKE.

[O.]

Deposition of Patrick M'Nolty.

PATRICK M'NOLTY, late settler at Red River, saith, that on or about the 19th day of June last, Hector M'Eachern, James Pinkman, and Peter Dunn, came from the North-West Company's fort at the Forks of Red River, to deponent's house, and told him that if he did not leave his house, he and his family would be in danger of losing their lives, and that it was by orders of Captain Cameron they came to inform him. In consequence of these threats deponent, with his wife and children, left his house and slept in an open boat upon the river that night. On the following morning deponent went to Mr. Cameron, to ask protection from him to proceed down the river, on his way to Jack River, as he was afraid of being murdered by Mr. Duncan Cameron's servants if he attempted to go down the

river without his permission. Mr. Cameron told deponent that he could not go till the whole of the colony went together, for as he had been ordered to leave the country, he was determined to drive out all the settlers, and when they were gone, he would not leave a stick of the buildings one upon the other. Deponent was therefore forced to fly from his house and lands, and left behind him one rood of land prepared for turnip seed, produce of the crop valued at - - £3 0 0

Buffaloe wool, valued at - - - - 10 0 0

One feather bed and household }
furniture, valued at - - - } 2 0 0

Land prepared for potatoes, pro- }
duce of the crop valued at - } 8 0 0

£23 0 0

(Signed) PATRICK M'NOLTY.

Sworn at Winnipic Settlement, Hudson's
Bay Company's Territories, this 5th day
of August, 1815, before me,

ARCHIBALD MACDONALD,

Counsellor.

Witness { COLIN ROBERTSON,
 { JAMES WHITE, Surgeon.

[P.]

Deposition of Alexander M'Lean.

MR. ALEXANDER M'LEAN, late settler, Red River, saith, that Mr. Duncan Cameron told him that any of the settlers, who would go to Canada, should have from the North-West Company two hundred acres of land, twelve months provisions gratis, and a free passage.

Deponent also saith, that he was told by the said Mr. Duncan Cameron, that he would pledge the word of the North-West Company for the fulfilment, and that he himself has, at different times, been solicited by Mr. Duncan Cameron, Mr. J. Dugald Cameron, partners of the North-West Company, to leave Red River settlement, and as an enticement for him to do so, was offered between seven and eight hundred pounds sterling; besides they promised that he should be placed in an independent situation. Mr. Duncan Cameron also promised Mr. M'Lean two hundred pounds out of his own pocket, and his servants' wages to be paid for three years. Mr. J. Dugald Cameron told Mr. M'Lean that ways and means were taken for the destruction of the colony in less than two years. Mr. M'Lean also deposes, that on or about Thursday, the 22nd day of June last, a party of half-breeds entered his house and what they said was interpreted to him by S. Fidler, that he, with his wife and family, must leave his house, or else it would be set on fire about their heads. The next day, Mr. M'Lean removed to the Government House with the greater part of his property, and on Saturday following, he had the misfortune to see their threat accomplished by his house being burnt to the ground.

(Signed)

A. M'LEAN.

Sworn at Winippic Settlement,
Hudson's Bay Territories, this
5th day of August, 1815,
before me,

ARCHIBALD MACDONALD,
Counsellor,

Witness { COLIN ROBERTSON,
JAMES WHITE, SURGEON.

See also Appendix, [S.]

[Q.]

Deposition of Joseph Kenny.

Montreal, } JOSEPH KENNY, late of Red River, in the
to wit. } territory of the Hudson's Bay Company,
now at the city of Montreal, in the Province of Lower
Canada, labourer, maketh oath, that he was an indented
servant in the service of Earl Selkirk, in the colony at
Red River aforesaid, during three years preceding the
month of June last.—That while the deponent was in
the service of the Earl of Selkirk aforesaid, some time
in the month of February last, one James Smith, one of
the settlers at Red River aforesaid, shewed to the depo-
nent a letter addressed to him the said James Smith; and
which he had received from Duncan Cameron, one of
the partners in the North-West Company, in which the
said Duncan Cameron proposed to the settlers and ser-
vants of Earl Selkirk, at Red River aforesaid, to aban-
don their situations there, and come over to the trading
post of the North-West Company, in the neighbour-
hood, called by them Gibraltar, assuring the said James
Smith, that the said settlers and servants would be well
treated, be provided with a passage free of expense,
and be conveyed to Montreal, in Lower Canada. That
the said James Smith and others, in consequence of
the inducements so held out to them by the said Dun-
can Cameron, did abandon the colony at Red River
aforesaid, and went over to the said North-West Com-
pany, by whom they were received and taken care of,
and afterwards conveyed, some of them to Upper
Canada, and others to Lower Canada. That the depo-
nent was among the number of persons who abandoned
the said colony, and went over to the said North-West

Company, as aforesaid; and it was about the fifth of June last, that the deponent left the said colony, and went to the said trading post called Gibraltar. That while the deponent was at the said trading post, as aforesaid, about two or three days previous to the eleventh of June last, he observed in the store of the said North-West Company at the said trading post, a number of guns, with powder-horns and shot-bags, prepared and in order to be used, some of the guns being loaded, and the whole fit for immediate action. That, on the eleventh of June last, a party of half-Indians and Canadians, with some clerks in the service of the said North-West Company, were provided with the said guns, powder-horns, and shot-bags, prepared as aforesaid, which they received out of the said store, and sallied forth from the said trading post, and made an attack on the settlements at Red River aforesaid, and kept up a continued fire on the said settlement for at least half an hour; during which, several persons of the said settlement were wounded. That, among the persons who so sallied forth, were one Seraphim, a Canadian, a clerk in the service of the said North-West Company, one Grant, and one Shaw, Indians of the half-breed, clerks in the service of the said North-West Company, and one Bostonois, also a half-Indian, and an interpreter, in the service of the said North-West Company. That, after the said firing ceased, the said party, with the said clerks at their head, returned shouting, and manifesting their exultation at what had taken place, to the said trading post, where they were received by the said Duncan Cameron, who had the command and charge of the said trading post, and who shook several of them by the hands, and expressed his satisfaction at their conduct.— That the deponent left the said trading post two or

three days afterwards, and was conveyed by the North-West Company in their canoes, to the said city of Montreal, where he arrived on the nineteenth day of the present month of October.—That, in coming down, the deponent saw one Joseph Bellegrade, a Canadian, and others of the persons employed in making the said attack on the settlement at Red River, who were then at a trading post of the said North-West Company, called Fort William; and the deponent was told by the said Bellegrade, that he and the said other persons were much dissatisfied with the said North-West Company, for not having fulfilled their promises to them, by which they had been induced to make the said attack on the said settlement, and afterwards to burn and destroy it altogether; the said Bellegrade mentioning at the same time, that what they had so done, had been done at the desire and by the instigation of the said North-West Company.

(Signed) JOSEPH KENNY.

Sworn at Montreal, the 21st
October, 1815, before me,

ELM. St. DIZIER, J. P.

[R.]

Deposition of Donald M'Kinnon.

Montreal, } DONALD M'KINNON, late of the colony
to wit. } of Red River, in the territories of the Hud-
son's Bay Company, in North America, now at the city
of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, labourer,
maketh oath, and saith, that he emigrated from Scot-
land in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hun-

dred and twelve, to reside in the said colony in the capacity of an indented servant, and arrived in the said colony in the same year, and remained there till the month of March last. That in or about the latter end of last March, one George Campbell, a settler in the said colony, proposed to the deponent to join him, the said George Campbell and others, in seizing nine pieces of cannon, which had been provided for the defence of the colony, and were then lodged in one of the buildings of Earl Selkirk, there; and in conveying them away to a trading post of the North-West Company, in the neighbourhood of the colony, called Fort Gibraltar; the said George Campbell at the same time informing the deponent, that he had orders from Duncan Cameron, one of the partners of the said North-West Company, to seize and convey away the said cannon aforesaid. That the deponent, at the solicitation of the said George Campbell, as aforesaid, did join him in seizing and conveying the said cannon, as aforesaid; and the said George Campbell, aided by the deponent, one George Bannerman, and other settlers of the said colony, did, in the latter end of the said month of March last, seize the said nine pieces of cannon, placed them on sleighs, and conveyed them to the said Fort Gibraltar, where they met with the said Duncan Cameron, and two of his clerks, one Shaw and one Bostonois, opened the store of the said fort and caused the said nine pieces of cannon to be lodged therein. That the deponent, in company with his father and his family, left Red River aforesaid, in June last, in the canoes of the North-West Company, and was conveyed by them to Fort William, one of the trading posts, where the deponent was compelled by the said North-West Company, and in particular by Kenneth M'Kenzie, one of the partners in

the said North-West Company, to separate himself from his father and family, and was brought down against his will to the said city of Montreal.

(Signed) DONALD M'KINNON.

Sworn at Montreal, this 13th day of

December, 1815, before me,

(Signed) J. M. MONDELET, J. P.

[S.]

Deposition of Michael M'Donnell.

Montreal, } MICHAEL M'DONNELL, late of the
to wit. } colony of Red River, in the territories of
 the Hudson's Bay Company, now at the city of
 Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, maketh
 oath, that he is acquainted with one George Campbell,
 one of the colonists who emigrated from Scotland to
 settle in the said colony of Red River.—That the
 said George Campbell came to the said colony in the
 year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and
 fourteen, having arrived at one of the posts of the
 Hudson's Bay Company on the sea coast, in the summer
 of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred
 and thirteen, and remained there till the ensuing
 spring.—That, in the winter of the year one thousand
 eight hundred and fifteen, the said George Campbell
 abandoned the said colony, and went over to the trading
 post of the North-West Company, in the neighbourhood
 of the said colony.—That the said George Campbell,
 when he abandoned the said colony as aforesaid, headed
 a party of the settlers of the said colony, who went off

with him; and he and the said party of settlers feloniously stole and carried away with them, from the said colony, nine pieces of cannon, which had been provided for the defence of the colony, and were placed in one of the buildings belonging to the Earl of Selkirk there, and which they conveyed to the said trading post of the North-West Company, called Fort Gibraltar, where they were received by Duncan Cameron, one of the partners in the said North-West Company, who retained the same.—That the said George Campbell, in speaking to the deponent of the said transaction, told him that he had so taken the said cannon by the desire of the said Duncan Cameron, and that he was not afraid of consequences for having done so, as he had a written order from the said Cameron to justify him.

That the said George Campbell, afterwards in the month of June last, assisted in the attack which was made by an armed force, proceeding from the said Fort Gibraltar, on the settlement at Red River aforesaid, and, as this deponent believes, in the destruction of the said colony at Red River, which afterwards took place. That after the said colony had been destroyed, the said George Campbell was brought with the greatest part of the settlers of the colony, by the North-West Company, to Upper Canada, and the deponent travelled in company with the said Campbell as far as a trading post of the said North-West Company, called Fort William.—That while the deponent was in confinement at Fort William aforesaid, under an illegal arrest to which he had been subjected by the procurement of the said North-West Company, the said George Campbell came to him, and in conversation mentioned that he had received one hundred pounds from the said North-West Company, which the deponent understood to be a

reward for the part which the said Campbell had taken in conveying away the cannon, and in the attack on, and destruction of, the colony at Red River aforesaid. That the said Campbell also told the deponent that he expected to get an advantageous situation at St. Joseph's, in consequence of the recommendation, and by the influence of, the North-West Company. That while the deponent was in custody as a prisoner at Fort Gibraltar aforesaid, in June last, Dugald Cameron, one of the partners in the said North-West Company, told the deponent, in the course of conversation, that the said North-West Company had offered Alexander M'Lean, the principal settler in the said colony, as much as four hundred pounds if he would abandon the said colony, and come over to the North-West Company. That while the deponent was in custody at Gibraltar, as aforesaid, he represented to Alexander M'Donell, one of the partners in the North-West Company, then having charge of the said fort, his anxious wish to be sent forward to the place where his trial was to be had, to which the said Alexander M'Donell answered, that the deponent was to go with him, and that he could not set out till he had seen all the colonists off the ground, and on their way to their future destination.

(Signed) MICHAEL M'DONELL.

Sworn at Montreal, this 28th day of

November, 1815, before me,

(Signed) J. M. MONDELET, J. P.

[T.]

Deposition of James Flynn.

Montreal, } JAMES FLYNN, late of the colony of
to wit. } Red River, in the territories of the
Hudson's Bay Company, now at the city of Montreal,
in the Province of Lower Canada, labourer, maketh
oath, that on his way down from Red River aforesaid,
to Montreal, in the month of June last, he, the deponent,
heard Duncan Cameron, one of the partners in the
North-West Company, who was then at the River
Winipeg, mention, in speaking of the destruction of the
colony at the Red River aforesaid, which had recently
before taken place, that he had left a person behind him
at Red River aforesaid, who would finish the business,
meaning the destruction of the said colony. That the
deponent also heard a conversation at the River
Winipeg aforesaid, between John M'Donell and
Alexander M'Kenzie, both partners in the said North-
West Company, in which the said John M'Donell
observed, that if the North-West Company had not
succeeded in enticing away from the colony of Red
River the Irishmen (meaning the Irish servants in the
service of Earl Selkirk there,) they would have been
unable to effect what they had done; whereupon the
said Alexander M'Kenzie, seeing the deponent in the
room, said to the said John M'Donell, by way of putting
a stop to the conversation, there is Captain Macdonell's
servant (meaning the deponent), which induced the
deponent to retire. That the deponent was also present
at Fort William, in July last, when the said Duncan

Cameron, in speaking to others of the partners of the said Company, of the destruction of the settlement at Red River aforesaid, said, "I have done so much, it is " for you to do the rest."

(Signed) JAMES FLYNN.

Sworn at Montreal, this 20th day of

September, 1815, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS M'CORD, J. P.

[U.]

Drummond's Island, (Upper Canada,)

22nd July, 1816.

FROM the Minutes of a Council, held this day, between Kawtawabetay, a Chippewa chief of Sand Lake, and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kay, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

Lieutenant-Colonel MAULE of the 104th Regt.
Commanding, and President.

The Right Hon. THOMAS EARL OF SELKIRK.

ALLAN, Surgeon.

DELORIMIER, Captain, Indian Department.

PAUL LA CROIX, Merchant.

<i>Indian Department.</i>	{	Lieutenant-Colonel WM. M'KAY, Superintendent.	}	<i>Interpreters.</i>
		THOMAS G. ANDERSON, Captain.		
		MICHEL BRISBOIS.		
		DAVID MITCHELL, Surgeon.		
		JOHN ASKIN, Int. &c.		
		WILLIAM SOLOMON.		
		JOSEPH ST. GERMAIN.		
		ASSE RENACK, Ottawa Chief.		
		DESONIER.		

EXTRACT.

St. Germain, the interpreter, was directed by the superintendant to ask the Chippewa chief if he had any thing further to say, on which the chief said, Yes, and said—

That in the spring of 1815, whilst at Sand Lake, ——— M'Kenzie and Morrison, told him, Kawtawabetay, that they would give him, and his people, all the goods or merchandize and rum, that they had at Fort William, Leach Lake, and at Sand Lake, if he, the said Kawtawabetay, and his people, would make and declare war against the settlers on the Red River, on which he, Kawtawabetay, asked ——— M'Kenzie and Morrison, if that demand to make war against the settlers at the Red River was by the orders of the great chiefs at Quebec, Montreal, by the commanding officers at Drummond's Island, or St. Joseph's, or from his friend Askin. The answer from M'Kenzie and Morrison was, that the request or proposal came from the agents of the North-West Company, and not from any military order, but solely from the North-West Company's agents, who wished the settlement destroyed, as it was an annoyance to them; on which he, Kawtawabetay, said, he nor his people would not comply to their request or proposals before he, the said chief, went to St. Joseph's and had seen Askin; after his return, would govern himself according to the advice he would get at St. Joseph's.

Kawtawabetay further said, that the last spring, 1816, whilst at the Fond du Lac Superior, ——— Grant, one of the North-West Company, offered him, the said

chief, two kegs of rum and two carots tobacco, if he would send some of his young men in search of some persons employed in taking dispatches to the Red River, and to pillage the said bearers of dispatches of the letters and papers, and to kill them, should they make any resistance. That he, the said chief, refused the reward, and did not pay any further attention to their request. That a short time after the aforementioned conversation had taken place between Grant and himself, one named Laguimoniere, was brought in prisoner by some Ottawa Indians, and a negro, which had been employed after his refusing to act or employ his people.

Kawtawabetay further states, that ——— Grant aforesaid told him not to be surprised to hear that whilst he, the said chief, would be absent, if he took the said chief's son and ten of his young men to the Red River, for he, the said Grant, intended to go to the said river, with twelve of the Rain Lake Indians, and his people, for the purpose of fighting the settlers at the Red River; that he did not intend to call in the Indians to his aid to fight the settlers, for he, Grant, and his party would be strong enough to drive away the settlers, but wanted the Indians merely as spectators.

Question from the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Selkirk, to Kawtawabetay, by permission of the President and Superintendent of Indian Affairs:—

Question.—Are the Indians about the Red River, or that part of the country you came from, pleased or displeased at the people settling at the Red River?

Answer.—At the commencement of the settlement at Red River, some of the Indians did not like it, but at present they are all glad of its being settled.

Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kay told Kawtawabetay that he was happy to find that he had not taken the advice of those who wanted to lead him astray, but was glad that he had behaved himself as an obedient child in refusing to take any part with them, and hoped he and his people would continue in being friendly with all the English merchants, traders, and all the settlers, who were all his Great Father's white children.

A true Extract, }
JOHN ASKIN, J. P. }

[V.]

Deposition of P. C. Pambrun,

BEFORE me, Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices, assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, appeared, Pierre Chrisologue Pambrun, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposes, that in the month of April last, he was sent to the trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, at *Qui Appelle*, by order of the deceased Governor Semple, from whom the deponent received a letter of instructions, a copy of which he has attested as relation hereto*.—That when he arrived, he found that at the fort or trading post of the North-West Company, near the same place, were assembled, a great number of the men, commonly called Brulés, Metifs, or half-breeds, viz. the bastard sons of Indian concubines, kept by the partners or servants of the North-West Company; that these people had been collected from a great distance,

* The copy of these Instructions has not been received with this Deposition.

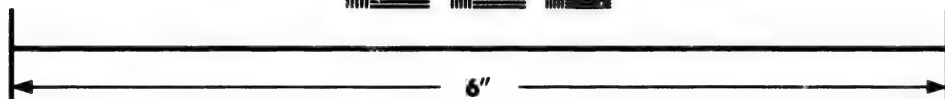
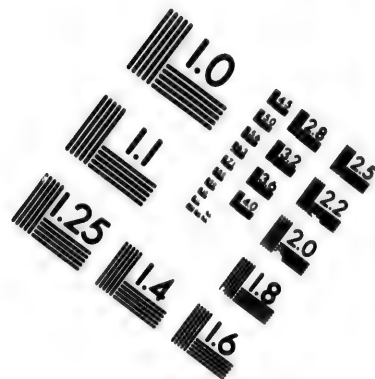
some of them having come from Cumberland House, and others from the Upper Saskatchewan, or Fort des Prairies, that they uttered violent threats against the colonists on the Red River, in which the deponent understood them to be encouraged by Mr. Alexander M'Donell, then commanding for the North-West Company.—That in the beginning of May, Mr. George Sutherland, commanding the Hudson's Bay post, embarked with the deponent and twenty-two men, in five boats, loaded with twenty-two packs of furs, and about six hundred bags of pemican.—That as they were going down the river, on or about the 12th day of May, they were attacked by a party of forty-nine servants of the North-West Company, composed partly of Canadians, and partly of half-breeds, under the command of Cuthbert Grant, Thomas M'Kay, Roderrick M'Kenzie, and Peter Pangman Bostonois, clerks or interpreters of the North-West Company, and Brisbois, a guide in their service, by whom they were attacked with force of arms and taken prisoners, and brought to the fort of the North-West Company, when the deponent saw Mr. Alexander M'Donell, who avowed that it was by his order that the said Grant and others had taken them prisoners, and seized on the provisions and other property of the Hudson's Bay Company, pretending that the measure was justifiable, in retaliation for Mr. Robertson's having lately taken the North-West Company's fort at the Forks of Red River, and declaring that it was his intention to starve the colonists and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, till he should make them surrender.—That after having retained, for five days, the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, taken prisoners as aforesaid, the said Alexander M'Donell liberated them, after having made them

promise not to take up arms against the North-West Company, but the deponent was still kept in close confinement. That towards the end of May, the said Alexander M'Donell embarked in his boats and proceeded down the river, escorted by a party of half-breeds on horseback, who followed them by land, and that he carried with him the provisions and furs which his people had taken on the 12th. That the deponent was made to embark in one of the boats, and as they were coming down the river, he was told by several of the servants of the North-West Company, that Alexander M'Donell had said the business of last year was a trifle in comparison with that which would take place this year, and that the North-West Company and the half-breeds were now one and the same. That, at the Forks of Ossiniboyne River, they met a Sautoux chief with his band, to whom the said Mr. M'Donell made a speech, the purport of which was, that the English (meaning the settlers on Red River, and the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company) were spoiling the lands which belonged to the Indians and half-breeds only; that they were driving away the buffaloe, and would render the Indians poor and miserable, but that the North-West Company would drive them away since the Indians did not choose to do it; that if the settlers resisted, the ground should be drenched with their blood; that none should be spared; that he did not need the assistance of the Indians, but nevertheless he would be glad if some of their young men would join him.—That when the party came within a few miles of the Hudson's Bay Company's fort at Brandon House, the said Cuthbert Grant was sent with a party of about twenty-five men, who took the post and pillaged it of every thing, including not only the goods, provisions,

and furs, belonging to the Company, but also the private property of their servants, which the deponent saw distributed among the servants of the North-West Company, Canadians as well as half-breeds.—That after this, the said M'Donell divided his forces into brigades, and Cuthbert Grant, Lacerpe, Alexander Fraser, and Antoine Hoole, were appointed to command different brigades, and that Seraphim Lamar acted as lieutenant over the whole, under the said M'Donell; that the whole force amounted to about one hundred and twenty men, among whom there were six Indians.—That on arriving at portage des Prairies, the pemican was landed, and arranged so as to form a small fort, guarded by two brass swivels, which had been taken last year from the stores of the settlement. That on or about the 18th of June, two days after their arrival at portage des Prairies, the said Grant, Lacerpe, Fraser, and Hoole, and Thomas M'Kay, were sent with about seventy men to attack the colony, and the said M'Donell, with several of his officers, and about forty men, remained with the pemican. That in the evening of the 20th of June, a messenger arrived from Cuthbert Grant, who reported that they had killed Governor Semple, with five of his officers and sixteen of his men, on which the said M'Donell, and all the gentlemen with him, (particularly Seraphim Lamar, Allan M'Donell, and Seivwright,) shouted with joy.—That Alexander M'Donell then went to announce the news to the rest of his people, crying out, "Sacré nom de Dieu! "bonnes nouvelles, vingt-deux Anglois de tués."—That Bostonois then inquired whether any of the half-breeds had been killed, and on being told of one, he said the deceased was his cousin, and his death must be revenged, that the affair must not end there, that the

settlers must all be killed, and not one be allowed to leave the river, for as long as one of those dogs was alive they would be coming back. That on this the said Alexander M'Donell sent two messengers with orders to Grant, to detain the settlers till his arrival. That on deponent's arrival at Fort Douglass, all the settlers were away, and the place in possession of the half-breeds under Grant. That two days afterwards Mr. Archibald Norman M'Leod and Alexander M'Kenzie arrived, as agents of the North-West Company, and also James Leith, John M'Donell, Hugh M'Gillis, John M'Laughlin, Simon Fraser, Archibald M'Lellan, John Duncan Campbell, John Haldane, James Hughes, Thomas M'Murrie, with the said Alexander M'Donell, all these partners, and also Allan M'Donell, then a clerk and now a partner of the North-West Company; that these gentlemen held a council with the half-breeds who had been engaged in the massacre of Governor Semple and the settlers, made presents to them, and made a speech to them, at which deponent was not allowed to be present. That when deponent was coming away from this place, the said Alexander M'Donell lent to him a pair of pistols which had belonged to Governor Semple. That deponent also saw, in possession of the said Allan M'Donell, a double-barrelled fowling-piece, likewise the property of Governor Semple, and was informed that it had been bought from Coutanaha, one of the half-breeds who had been engaged in the massacre.—That since the deponent has been at Fort William, he has seen here many Canadians and half-breeds who had been engaged in the massacre, and also in the robberies at Qui Appelle and Brandon House. That these men have been favourably received, entertained, and protected by the





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partners of the North-West Company, now at Fort William. That the said Brisbois, in particular, has dined daily at the table of the partners, and the deponent has reason to believe that all the partners who are now at Fort William, or have been here since the deponent's arrival, looked upon the crimes which had been committed on Red River by the half-breeds and others under the command of Alexander M'Donell, as services done to the North-West Company, and have rewarded them accordingly;—that each of the Canadians and half-breeds who was engaged in the massacre, received a present of clothing; and that some who had not been supplied at the Forks of Red River, received articles of the same description, and to the same amount at Fort William; and the deponent has been informed by these men, that the said presents or equipment was an extraordinary allowance given only to the men who were engaged in that action.

(Signed)

PIERRE CHRISOLOGUE PAMBRUN.

Sworn before me, at Fort William, on
the 16th day of August, 1816,

(Signed)

SELKIRK, J. P.

[W.]

Deposition of A. Lavigne.

BEFORE Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, and likewise in the Indian

territories or parts of America, appeared Augustin Lavigne, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, made the following declaration.

Qu'il étoit au Fort de la Rivière à la Souris le printemps passé, quand Monsieur Alexander M'Donell est descendu de la Rivière Qu' Appelle avec une quantité de Brulés ; qu'il s'est embarqué dans un des bateaux, et descendit jusqu'au portage de la Prairie, où il débarqua par ordre du dit Monsieur M'Donell ; et fut placé dans la compagnie de Grant, un des commis de la Société du Nord-Ouest, avec lequel il s'est rendu à cheval à la Fourche de la Rivière Rouge aux environs du Fort Anglois occupé par le Gouverneur de la Baye de Hudson. Que dans l'après-midi du 19 Juin, les trois compagnies qui étoient partis ensemble du portage la Prairie, s'approchèrent de la Grenouillère, aux environs de laquelle plusieurs habitants cultivateurs étoient campés, à la distance d'environ deux lieux du Fort Anglois ; qu'alors le dit Lavigne s'est séparé de la bande avec deux de ses camarades pour aller visiter un habitant qu'il connoissoit, qu'ils rencontrèrent deux jeunes gens avec lesquels ils entrèrent en conversation ; et qu'ensuite ils ont rejoint une bande de Brulés qui les ont accusé de lâcheté pour ne pas avoir prit prisonniers ces deux Anglois, en se vantant qu'ils avoient eux-mêmes pris six. Que ces Brulés alloient se mettre à la poursuite de ces deux Anglois, quand on a vu approcher la compagnie du Gouverneur Semple ; que les Brulés ont rejoint leur bande ; que le deposant Lavigne alla chercher son cheval qu'il avoit laissé en arrière ; que revenant à cheval, il entendit les cris, et les coups de fusils ; mais, avant son arrivé, l'affaire étoit finie, et qu'il ne restoit que les Brulés sur la place, qui tiroient encore sur les blessés

qui ne faisoient pas de resistance. Le deposant ajoute qu'il vit Monsieur Pritchard, et un autre Anglois, qui avoient jetté leurs armes, demandant grâce. Que le deposant avec beaucoup de peine reussit à sauver Monsieur Pritchard, et qu'en le protegeant il a reçu beaucoup de coups de crosse du fusil, et que le deposant vit que l'autre Anglois fut tué par un des Brulés par un coup de feu.

Que peu de jours après cette affaire eut lieu, arrivèrent Messieurs M'Leod et M'Kenzie, agents de la Société du Nord-Ouest, accompagnés de plusieurs autres bourgeois, et commis; qu'ils distribuèrent aux Brulés des habillements qui avoient été apportés dans le canôt du dit M'Leod. Que Monsieur M'Leod rassembla tous les Brulés qui avoient été dans l'affaire du dix-neuvième, et leur adressa le discours suivant:—

“ Mes parens, mes pareilles, qui nous ont soulagé
 “ dans le besoin.—J'ai apporté de quoi vous habiller.
 “ Je croyois trouver une quarantaine de vous autres ici
 “ avec Monsieur M'Donell, mais vous êtes plus. J'ai
 “ quarante habillements. Mais ceux qui en ont le plus
 “ de besoin prendront ceux là; les autres, à l'arrivée
 “ des canôts cet automne, seront habillés pareille-
 “ ment.”

sa

(Signed)

AUGUSTIN + LAVIGNE.

Marque.

Témoin,

(Signed)

G. A. FAUCHE.

Sworn at Fort William, on the
 17th August, 1816.

(Signed)

SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

That he (A. Lavigne) was at the fort upon Mouse River last spring, when Mr. Alexander M'Donell came down from the River Qu' Appelle with a number of Brulés, that the deponent embarked in one of the boats, and went down as far as the portage de la Prairie, where he disembarked by the orders of the said Mr. M'Donell, and was placed in the party commanded by Grant, one of the clerks of the North-West Company, along with whom he went on horseback to the Forks of Red River, near the English fort, occupied by the governor of Hudson's Bay. That in the afternoon of the 19th of June, the three parties who had left the portage la Prairie together, drew near to the Frog Plain, in the neighbourhood of which several of the agricultural settlers were stationed, at the distance of about two leagues from the English fort. That then the said Lavigne left the band along with two of his companions, to go and visit an inhabitant with whom he was acquainted; that they met two young persons with whom they entered into conversation, and that afterwards they rejoined a band of Brulés, who accused them of cowardice for not having made prisoners of these two English, boasting that they themselves had taken six. That these Brulés were then going to pursue these said two English, when Governor Semple and his party were seen coming towards them; that the Brulés rejoined their band; that the deponent, Lavigne, went to fetch his horse which he had left behind; that returning on horseback he heard the cries, and the reports of fire arms, but, before he arrived, the affair was over, and there remained none on the spot, but the Brulés, who were still firing on the wounded, who made no resistance. The deponent adds, that he saw Mr. Pritchard, and another Englishman, who had thrown down their arms, begging for mercy. That the deponent, with much difficulty, succeeded in saving Mr. Pritchard, and that in protecting

him he received many blows with the butt-end of the muskets; and that the deponent saw the other Englishman killed by a shot from one of the Brulés.

That a few days after this affair, Messrs. M'Leod and M'Kenzie, agents of the North-West Company, arrived, accompanied by several partners and clerks, that they distributed to the Brulés clothes which had been brought in the said M'Leod's canoe. That Mr. M'Leod assembled all the Brulés who had been in the affair of the 19th, and made them the following speech.—“ My kinsmen, my comrades, who “ have helped us in the time of need, I have brought clothing “ for you. I expected to have found about forty of you here “ with Mr. M'Donell, but there are more of you. I have “ forty suits of clothing; those who are most in need of “ them, may have these, and, on the arrival of the canoes in “ autumn, the rest of you shall be clothed likewise.”

His

(Signed)

AUGUSTIN + LAVIGNE.

Mark.

Witness,

(Signed)

G. A. FAUCHE.

Sworn at Fort William, on the

17th of August, 1816.

(Signed)

SELKIRK, J. P.

[X.]

Deposition of Louis Nolin.

BEFORE Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, appeared Louis Nolin, clerk in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, made the following declaration.

Qu'à la fin de l'été de l'année 1815, il arriva à la Rivière Rouge, avec Monsieur Robertson; que deux jours après leur arrivé il se tint une consultation dans le fort du Nord-Ouest occupé par Duncan Cameron, entre Cameron, ses commis et interprètes, pour trouver le moyen de chasser d'un coup de main les colons qui revenoient s'établir là: le deposant n'étoit pas present, mais Peter Pangman, dit Bostonois, lui a raconté quelques mois après, que lui, Bostonois, y avoit observé aux autres qu'il seroit sans doute plus facile de chasser les colons tout de suite, mais qu'il ne savoit pas de quelle excuse on pourroit se servir dans ce moment, et que par cet raison, on a déterminé d'attendre jusqu'à-ce-qu'on put trouver quelque pretexte, esperant toujours que les colons seroient contraints de quitter le pays faute de provisions.

Le deposant ajoute que dans le mois d'Octobre de l'année 1815, deux sauvages revenant du fort occupé par Duncan Cameron, dirent à lui deposant que Charles Hesse les avoit menacé de les faire perir s'ils avoient encore quelque communication avec les colons Anglois.

Le deposant informe que dans le courant de l'hiver dernier Seraphim Lamar lui dit qu'il avoit reçu une lettre d'Alexandre Fraser (stationné à la Rivière Qu'Appelle) dans laquelle il lui conseilloit de ne pas perdre courage, que lui, Fraser, étoit le cinquième qui pourroit lever les Bois-Brulés pour aller exterminer, le printemps prochain, les Anglois qui se trouveroient sur la Rivière Rouge.

Le deposant declare que le matin du 17 Juin, 1816, le Gouverneur Semple le fit appeller pour lui servir d'interprète à deux sauvages appelé l'un Moustouche, et l'autre Courte Aureille, qui avoient quitté le camp des Bois-Brulés, qui étoit commandé par Alexandre M'Donell. Ces deux deserteurs apprirent au Gouver-

neur qu'il devoit être attaqué dans deux jours par les Bois-Brulés qui étoient commandé par Cuthbert Grant, Hoole, Pruneau, Fraser, Bourrassa, Lacerbe, et Thomas M'Kay, tous employés au service du Nord-Ouest; qu'ils étoient tous déterminés de prendre le fort, et que si quelqu'un s'y opposoit, ils tueroient hommes, femmes et enfans, et que s'ils attrappoient Monsieur Robertson ils le couperoient en mille morceaux.

Le deposant informe de plus que le 19 Juin dans l'après-midi, il vit arriver une cinquantaine des Bois-Brulés, ou Metifs, qui s'avançoient près des maisons des Anglois qui occupoient le haut de la Grenouillière (endroit éloigné d'une lieue du fort Anglois); le deposant étant devant le fort il en vit sortir le Gouverneur Semple avec vingt-huit hommes, le deposant monta sur un bastion, dont il vit le Gouverneur Semple arranger ses hommes en ligne. Il envoya un homme à cheval pour s'informer de ce qui se passeroit, que bientôt le deposant vit arriver au fort Monsieur Bourke qui y venoit chercher un pièce de canon par ordre du Gouverneur Semple. L'express du deposant arriva bientôt, et lui annonça qu'il y avoit une grande quantité de Metifs qui avoient enlever le Gouverneur, sur quoi le deposant envoya une seconde fois son homme, pour s'informer de ce qui se passoit; six minutes après, son homme fut de retour et annonça que cinq de ces Messieurs Anglois et le Gouverneur Semple avoient été tués ainsi que plusieurs de leurs hommes; tandis que les Metifs n'en avoient perdu qu'un seul.—Monsieur Bourke rentra au fort, blessé.

Le vingt de Juin le deposant se rendit au camp des Bois-Brulés qui se trouvoient à la Grenouillière; il y rebouta dans le camp ennemi deux hommes et une femme qui appartenoient à la colonie, qui avoient été

pris avant que le Gouverneur Semple eut joint les Bois-Brulés.

Le deposant entra en conversation avec Cuthbert Grant, M'Kay, Hool, Pruneau, Fraser, Bourrassa, Lacerbe, qui se vantoient chacun en particulier de leurs exploits, dans la bataille du 19 Juin contre les Anglois ; Cuthbert Grant disoit qui si on ne lui remettoit pas le Fort Douglass, le jour suivant, il tueroit hommes, femmes, et enfants.

Le 21 les Anglois cedèrent le Fort Douglass au Metifs, (ou Bois-Brulés), le deposant qui étoit au fort a appris d'eux, que le Gouverneur Semple avoit été blessé premièrement par Cuthbert Grant, et qu'il avoit été tué par François Deschamps, engagé au service de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest.

Le 22 Juin, 1816, Cuthbert Grant chassa les colons et les envoya à la Rivière au Brochet, et s'empara du fort et de tous les effets.

Il y eut ce jour-là une assemblée où les Bois-Brulés demandèrent à Monsieur M'Kenzie, si Lord Selkirk avoit droit d'établir des colons à la Rivière Rouge ; Monsieur M'Kenzie repondit qu'il n'en n'avoit aucun droit ; que toutes ces terres appartenoient aux Bois-Brulés ; et Lord Selkirk pouvoit, comme la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, y envoyer des traiteurs ; mais n'avoit aucun droit de s'emparer de ces terres.

Le deposant ajoute qu' aussitôt après l'arrivé du dit Monsieur M'Kenzie, les traiteurs de la Compagnie d'Hudson furent aussi chassé de la Rivière Rouge.

(Signed) LOUIS NOLIN.

Sworn at Fort William, on Lake Superior,
on the 21st day of August, 1816.

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

THAT at the end of summer, in the year 1816, he (Louis Nolin) arrived at the Red River with Mr. Robertson;—that, two days after their arrival, a consultation was held in the fort of the North-West Company, occupied by Duncan Cameron, between Cameron, his clerks and interpreters, to find the means of driving away at one blow, the settlers who were returning to establish themselves there,—The deponent was not present, but Peter Pangman, called Bostonois, related to him some months afterwards, that he, Bostonois, had observed to the others, that it would, no doubt, be more easy to drive away the settlers immediately; but he did not know what excuse they could make use of at that moment,—and that, for this reason, they determined to wait till they could find some pretext, still hoping that the settlers would be compelled to quit the country for want of provisions.

The deponent adds, that in the month of October 1815, two Indians returning from the fort occupied by Duncan Cameron, said to him, the deponent, that Charles Hesse had threatened to destroy them, if they had any more communication with the English colony.

The deponent informs, that in the course of last winter, Seraphim Lamar told him, that he had received a letter from Alexander Fraser (stationed at the River Qu' Appelle) in which he advised him not to lose courage; that he, Fraser, was one of five who could raise the Bois-Brulés, to go and exterminate the English who might be found at Red River in the spring.

The deponent declares, that on the morning of the 17th of June, 1816, Governor Semple had him called to serve as interpreter to two Indians named Moustouche and Courte Aureille, who had quitted the camp of the Bois-Brulés, which was commanded by Alexander M'Donell. These two deserters informed the Governor, that he was to be attacked in two

days by the Bois-Brulés, who were commanded by Cuthbert Grant, Hoole, Pruneau, Fraser, Bourrassa, Lacerbe, and Thomas M'Kay, all employed in the service of the North-West Company.—That they were all determined to take the fort; and if any one opposed them, they would kill men, women, and children; and if they could catch Mr. Robertson, they would cut him into a thousand pieces.

The deponent further informs, that on the 19th of June, in the afternoon, he saw about fifty of the Bois-Brulés or Metifs arrive, who advanced near the houses of the English, who occupied the height of the Frog Plain, a place about a league from the English fort.—The deponent was in front of the fort, and he saw Governor Semple come out with twenty-eight men.—The deponent stepped up on a bastion, from whence he saw the governor arrange his men in a line. He (the deponent) sent a man on horseback to observe what might happen. That soon after, the deponent saw Mr. Bourke arrive at the fort, who came there for a piece of cannon, by order of Governor Semple. The deponent's messenger returned soon after, and informed him, that there was a great number of Metifs who had surrounded the governor, on which the deponent sent his man back again for information. In a few minutes the man returned, and announced, that five of the English gentlemen, and the governor had been killed, as well as several of their men, while the Metifs had only lost one. Mr. Bourke returned to the fort wounded.

On the 20th of June, the deponent went to the camp of the Bois-Brulés, at the Frog Plain. He there observed in the enemy's camp two men and a woman who belonged to the colony, who had been taken, before Governor Semple had met the Bois-Brulés.

The deponent entered into conversation with Cuthbert Grant, M'Kay, Hoole, Pruneau, Fraser, Bourrassa, Lacerbe;—that each of them boasted of their own particular exploits in the battle of the 19th of June with the English. Cuthbert

Grant said, if they did not give up Fort Douglass to him the next day, he would kill men, women, and children.

On the 21st the English gave up Fort Douglass to the Metis or Bois-Brulés. The deponent who was at the fort, learned from them, that Governor Semple had been first wounded by Cuthbert Grant, and that he had been killed by Francis Deschamps, employed in the service of the North-West Company.

On the 22d of June, 1816, Cuthbert Grant drove out the settlers, and sent them to Jack River, and took possession of the fort, and all the effects.

That day there was held a meeting, at which the Bois-Brulés asked Mr. M'Kenzie, if Lord Selkirk had a right to establish settlers at the Red River. Mr. M'Kenzie replied, that he had no right whatever; that all these lands belonged to the Bois-Brulés; and Lord Selkirk, as well as the North-West Company, might send traders there; but he had no right to take possession of these lands.

The deponent adds, that immediately after the arrival of the said Mr. M'Kenzie, the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company were also driven away from the Red River.

(Signed)

LOUIS NOLIN.

Sworn at Fort William, on Lake
Superior, the 21st day of
August, 1816.

(Signed)

SELKIRK, J. P.

[Y.]

Deposition of Louis Blondeau.

BEFORE Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace, in the western district of Upper Canada, and likewise in the Indian

territories or part of America, appeared Louis Blondeau, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, made the following declaration.

Que dans le cours d' l'hiver passé étant au Fort Cumberland sous les ordres de Jean Duncan Campbell, un des propriétaires de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, le dit Campbell a proposé à lui, Louis Blondeau, d'aller à la Rivière Rouge, pour defendre les intérêts de la dite Compagnie contre les colonistes. Que lui, Louis Blondeau, a repondu, qu'il ne desiroit point se mêler de mauvaises affaires contre la loi; que le dit Campbell a repliqué qu'il n'y avoit point de danger, que la Compagnie du Nord-West le protégeroit comme elle avoit toujours protégé ceux qui avoient agi pour ses intérêts; qu'on avoit vu beaucoup de gens qui avoient faits de mauvais coups pour les servir, et que jamais on avoit vu aucun qui en avoit subi les peines de la loi.

Que ci-après dans le même hiver le dit Campbell a montré au dit Blondeau une lettre qu'il avoit reçu de Jean M'Donald, aussi propriétaire de la dite Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, résidant à la Rivière du Cygne, faisant invitation de la part de la Compagnie à tous les Metifs et autres qui voudroient aller à la Rivière Rouge pour defendre les intérêts de la Compagnie, et que suivant cette invitation sept Metifs et un Canadien (dont un commis et les autres engagés au service de la dite Compagnie) sont partis du Fort Cumberland dans le mois d'Avril, pour se rendre à la Rivière Qu' Appelle. Que le dit Louis Blondeau, a vu quelques-uns d'eux en bas de la Rivière Winipique, qui lui ont raconté qu'ils avoient été dans la bataille du 19 Juin, dans laquelle ils avoient tué le Gouverneur Semple, et beaucoup des colonistes, qu'ils lui avoient montré le butin qu'ils avoient reçus

pour leur recompence, qui avoient été tirés des effets pillé des magasins de la colonie, et qu'ils avoient raconté à lui, Louis Blondeau, que ces effets leur avoient été distribués par Monsieur Archibald Norman M'Leod, un des propriétaires de la dite Compagnie du Nord-Ouest.

Le dit Louis Blondeau declare aussi avoir entendu lire par le dit Jean Duncan Campbell une lettre qui lui avoit été adressée comme à tous les autres propriétaires de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest dans le mois de Fevrier ou de Mars par le Gouverneur Semple et par Monsieur Robertzon, qui promettoient qu'ils ne mettroient aucun obstacle à la sortie des vivres de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, de la Rivière Rouge, pourvu que de l'autre part on laisseroit libre sortie au commerce de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, proposition que le dit Campbell a paru mépriser.

(Signed)

LOUIS BLONDEAU.

Sworn at Kammistiquia, this
12th day of August, 1816,
before me,

(Signed)

SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

THAT, in the course of the last winter, he (Louis Blondeau) was at Fort Cumberland, under the orders of John Duncan Campbell, one of the proprietors of the North-West Company. The said Campbell proposed to him, Louis Blondeau, to go to the Red River, to defend the interests of the said Company against the settlers. That he, Louis Blondeau, replied, that he did not wish to meddle in such matters against the law;—that the said Campbell replied, there was no danger; that the North-West Company would protect him, as they had always protected those who had acted for their interests. That there

were many people who had done such things to serve them, but no one had ever seen them suffer for it.

That afterwards, in the same winter, the said Campbell shewed to the said Blondeau, a letter he had received from John Macdonald, also a proprietor in the said North-West Company, residing at Swan River, giving an invitation on the part of the Company, to all the Metifs and others who chose to go to the Red River, to defend the interests of the Company. And that, in consequence of this invitation, seven Metifs and one Canadian (of whom one was a clerk, and the others servants of the said Company,) set out from Fort Cumberland, in the month of April, to go to the River Qui Appelle.—That the said Louis Blondeau saw some of them afterwards down the River Winipic, who related to him that they had been in the battle of the 19th of June, in which they had killed Governor Semple and many of the settlers. That they shewed him the booty they had received as their reward, which had been given out of the effects pillaged from the stores of the colony; and that they told him, Louis Blondeau, that these effects had been distributed to them by Mr. Archibald Norman M'Leod, one of the proprietors of the said North-West Company.

The said Louis Blondeau also declares, that he heard the said Duncan Campbell read a letter which had been addressed to him, as well as to all the other proprietors of the North-West Company, in the month of February or March, by Governor Semple and Mr. Robertson, who promised that they would put no obstacle to the carrying out the North-West Company's provisions by the Red River, provided the other party would allow free passage to the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company—a proposal which the said Campbell appeared to treat with contempt.

(Signed)

LOUIS BLONDEAU.

Sworn at Kaministigoia, this 12th
day of August, 1816, before me,

(Signed)

SELKIRK, J. P.

[Z.]

Deposition of Joseph Brisbois.

BEFORE Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, appeared Joseph Brisbois, guide in the service of the North-West Company, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, made the following declaration.

Qu'il étoit avec Monsieur Cuthbert Grant, quand il a pris les bateaux de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, qui descendoient la Rivière Qu' Appelle, dans lesquels il y avoit plusieurs paquets de peltrie appartenant à la dite Compagnie d'Hudson. Le deposant declare de plus qu'à son arrivé au fort des Anglois bâti sur la Rivière aux Souris (qui étoit déjà occupé par les Bois-Brulés alors) étant campé devant le fort mentionné, le deposant en vit sortir des paquets qui étoient transportés par les Brulés, et qui les posèrent dans les bateaux de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest; qu' ensuite ils traversèrent la Rivière du côté où la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest a un établissement.

Le deposant declare que depuis la Rivière Rouge il y avoit huit canôts en sa charge pour les conduire au Fort William, qu'en dechargeant ces canôts il reconnut des paquets appartenant à la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, qui furent mis dans un des hangards du fort par les engagés de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest: qu'ensuite Messrs. Kennedy et Harrison qui étoient presens pour les recevoir, les pesèrent et firent arranger les paquets en question en ligne. Après que les peltries

furent detachées et pesées, Monsieur Alexandre M'Kenzie entra dans l'hangard, et ordonna à ses gens d'attacher chaque paquet au milieu, pour qu'on peut les transporter dans un autre hangard où le deposant, Joseph Brisbois, conduisit les engagés pour leur montrer la place qui étoit assignée pour placer les paquets en question.

Le deposant croit qu'il est de son devoir de dire que le nombre des paquets appartenant à la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, qui ont été transporté de la Rivière des Souris, et Qu' Appelle, dans les hangards du Fort William, peut se monter à quarante paquets.

Le deposant croit qu'il s'est écoulé à peu près deux ou trois semaines depuis qu'il est de retour de son voyage.

Sa

(Signé)

JOSEPH + BRISBOIS.

Marque.

Sworn at Fort William, the
19th day of August, 1816.

(Signed)

SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

THAT he (Joseph Brisbois) was with Mr. Cuthbert Grant, when he took the boats of the Hudson's Bay Company coming down the River Qui Appelle, in which there were several packages of peltry, belonging to the said Hudson's Bay Company. The deponent further declares, that, on his arrival at the English fort on Mouse River, (which was then occupied by the Bois-Brulés) being encamped before the said fort, he saw packages brought out of it, which were carried by the Brulés, who placed them in the boats of the

North-West Company. That afterwards they crossed the river to the side where the North-West Company have an establishment.

The deponent declares, that he had charge of eight canoes from the Red River to Fort William.—That, on unloading these canoes, he recognized packages belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, which were put into one of the store-houses of the fort by the servants of the North-West Company. That afterwards, Messrs. Kennedy and Harrison, who were present to receive them, weighed them, and arranged them in a row. After the furs were opened out and weighed, Mr. Alexander M'Kenzie entered the shed, and ordered his people to tie each package in the middle, that they might be carried into another store-house, to which the deponent, Joseph Brisbois conducted the servants to shew them the place appointed for the packages in question.

The deponent thinks it is his duty to say, that the number of packages belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, which were brought down from Mouse River, and Qui Appelle, might amount to forty packages.

The deponent thinks, that about two or three weeks have passed since he returned from his voyage.

His
(Signed) JOSEPH + BRISBOIS.
Mark.

Sworn at Fort William, the 19th
day of August, 1816.

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[A. A.]

Deposition of C. G. Bruce.

BEFORE Thomas Earl of Selkirk, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace in the western district of Upper Canada, appeared Charles Gaspard Bruce, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, made the following declaration.

Qu'il partit de Montreal pour se rendre à la Rivière Rouge avec Monsieur Miles M'Donell, et pour lui servir d'interprète pour la langue Sautoux; que le 24 Juin, ils recontrèrent au Lac de la Pluie plusieurs sauvages de cette nation, qui dirent au déposant que Monsieur M'Leod et Monsieur Alexandre M'Kenzie avoient fait assemblée tous les sauvages des environs, pour leur proposer de les suivre à la Rivière Rouge pour y delivrer Monsieur Duncan Cameron, qui y étoit detenu prisonnier pas les Anglois de la Baie d'Hudson, et qui si les Anglois ne vouloient pas le leur rendre, ils prendroient Monsieur Cameron de force, et que tout ce qui se trouveroit dans le fort seroit donné à eux (sauvages) pour les recompenser de leur peine. Les sauvages qui racontèrent ces faits s'appelloient Oniegakuét, Shabiné, et son fils.—Ces sauvages dirent qu'ils n'avoient pas voulu suivre Messieurs M'Leod et M'Kenzie, mais que vingt-un Sautoux les avoient suivis, quelques-uns dans leurs propres canôts, et les autres dans les canôts de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest. Ce recit fut confirmé par les relations d'autres sauvages de la même bande.

Le jour suivant Monsieur M'Donell et le déposant

rencontrèrent une autre bande des Sautoux, qui dirent de plus que le docteur M'Laughlin avoit passé deux jours auparavant, et avoit aussi cherché à avoir des sauvages pour l'accompagner à la Rivière Rouge, que cinq Sautoux acceptèrent ses propositions, et qu'ils étoient partis pour aller joindre Messieurs M'Leod, M'Kenzie, et Leith, et beaucoup d'autres bourgeois de la Compagnie qui se rassembloient à la Rivière Rouge.

His
(Signed) CHARLES G. + BRUCE.
Mark.

Sworn at Fort William, on the
23rd of August, 1816.

(Signed) SELKIRK, J. P.

[TRANSLATION.]

THAT he (C. G. Bruce) left Montreal to go to Red River with Mr. Miles M'Donell, to serve as an interpreter for the Sautoux language; that on the 24th day of June, at Lac la Pluie, they met several Indians of that nation, who told the deponent that Mr. M'Leod and Mr. Alexander M'Kenzie had called together all the Indians of the neighbourhood, to propose that they should go along with them to Red River, in order to release Mr. Duncan Cameron, who was detained there prisoner by the English of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that if the English would not give him up they would take Mr. Cameron by force, and that whatever might be found in the fort should be given to the Indians as a recompence for their trouble. The Indians who told this were Oniegakuét, Shabine, and his son. These Indians mentioned that they themselves refused to follow Messrs. M'Leod and M'Kenzie, but that twenty-one Sautoux had accompanied

them, some in their own canoes, and the rest in the canoes of the North-West Company. This statement was confirmed by other Indians of the same band.

The following day Mr. M'Donell and the deponent met another band of the Sautoux, who told them, that Dr. M'Laughlin had also passed two days before, and had likewise tried to prevail on some Indians to accompany him to Red River. That five Sautoux accepted his proposals, and that they set out to join Messrs. M'Leod, M'Kenzie, and Leith, and many other partners of the Company, who were assembling at the Red River.

His

CHARLES G. + BRUCE.

Mark.

Sworn at Fort William, on the

23rd of August, 1816.

(Signed)

SELKIRK, J. P.

[B. B.]

Deposition of John Bourke.

Montreal, } JOHN BOURKE, late of Fort Douglass,
to wit. } at Red River, in the territories of the
 Hudson's Bay Company, in North America, now at the
 city of Montreal, in the province of Lower Canada,
 gentleman, maketh oath, that he went out in the service
 of the Hudson's Bay Company to Hudson's Bay, in the
 year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and
 twelve, and remained at York Factory till the following
 year, when he went to the settlement, formed by the

Earl of Selkirk, at Red River aforesaid, and acted there as a store-keeper to the colony. That in the latter end of the winter, and in the spring of the present year, information was received at Fort Douglass aforesaid, from Indians and Canadians, that the North-West Company were collecting Indians of the half-breed, as they are called, that is, the bastard-children of the partners and servants of that Company, by Indian women, from their different trading posts, and were forming them into a body at their trading post, called Fort *Qui Appelle*, for the purpose of attacking and destroying the said settlement at Red River. The said Fort *Qui Appelle* was then under the charge of Alexander M'Donell, one of the partners in the said North-West Company, assisted by one Cuthbert Grant, and one Fraser, both of them Indians of the said half-breed, and clerks in the service of that Company. The information of this intended attack was conveyed by different persons, and was received in such manner, that no doubt was entertained of its truth. An almost constant watch was, therefore, kept up, night and day, to discover the approach of any of the parties of the North-West Company. On the nineteenth day of June last, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a man in the watch-house at Fort Douglass aforesaid, called out to Governor Semple, that a party of horsemen were approaching the said settlement. The deponent was then with the said governor, and observed a number of men on horseback at the distance of about half a mile from the fort. The deponent, with others, went into the watch-house, for the purpose of viewing the said party of horsemen, with a spy-glass, and they then distinctly perceived that the said party consisted of sixty or seventy men on horseback, all of them armed, and approaching the settlement

in a hostile manner. The said governor having viewed the approach of these men, who appeared to direct their course towards the settlement below the fort, desired twenty men to follow him, for the purpose of ascertaining what was their object; and upwards of that number, among whom the deponent was, immediately collected and went with him out of the fort. When the governor and his party had advanced about half a mile, they were met by some of the settlers, who, alarmed and terrified, were running to the fort for protection, and saying, that the people of the North-West Company were coming with carts and cannon. The governor, apprehending that the settlement was about to be attacked, desired the deponent to go back to the fort for a piece of cannon which was there, and to desire Mr. Sheriff M'Donell, then deputy-governor at the fort, to send with it any men he could spare. The deponent accordingly returned to the fort and delivered the said message, but Mr. M'Donell would only allow one man to accompany him, and with this man the deponent set out from the fort with the cannon in a cart. They had advanced the distance of about half a mile from the fort, when they saw that the party of horsemen had surrounded the governor, and they distinguished the flashes from the guns which were firing. The deponent fearing lest he should be intercepted with the cannon, thought it prudent to convey it back to the fort, and accompanied it part of the way himself, and then sent it forward by the man who was with him, at the same time the deponent was joined by about ten men from the fort, who proceeded with him towards the place where they expected to find the governor. Upon advancing further, they observed that the horsemen, by whom the governor and his party had been surrounded, had dis-

persed, and were scattered over the ground, but did not see the governor or any of his party. The deponent hesitated to go forward, and some of the hostile party cried out to the deponent in English, "Come on, come on, here is the governor, won't you come and obey him?" The deponent advanced a little further, when the same persons cried out, "Give up your arms." Apprehending that the governor and his party had been destroyed, and believing it was the wish of the murderers to get him, the deponent, also into their hands, the deponent turned back with the ten men who were with him, and they made all haste to escape: in their flight, the deponent received a shot in his right thigh, and Duncan M'Naughton, one of the ten men, was killed. About an hour after the deponent reached the fort, he heard, from persons who had escaped from the massacre, that Governor Semple and the persons with him, excepting four or five, had been murdered by the said party of horsemen, which was composed of clerks and servants of the North-West Company, headed by Cuthbert Grant above-named. The next day the said Cuthbert Grant and the said Fraser, both of them clerks in the service of the North-West Company as aforesaid, with about sixteen or seventeen of their associates in the murders of the preceding day, came to Fort Douglass, and threatening every body in the fort and settlement with immediate death, if their orders were not complied with, insisted on the immediate abandonment of the fort and of the settlement, and that property of every kind should be delivered up to them. After some conversation and entreaty, their terms were so far modified, that it was determined that the property of private individuals should be respected, but that every thing that belonged to the Earl of Selkirk and the

colony generally, should be the spoil of the plunderers. —A writing, purporting to be a capitulation, was drawn up to this effect, between Mr. Sheriff M'Donell, having charge of Fort Douglass, and the said Cuthbert Grant, which was signed by the latter as clerk to the North-West Company. Notwithstanding the assurance given, that private property should not be violated, almost every thing which the settlers and servants of the colony possessed, became the spoil of these servants of the North-West Company, and was taken by force. While the settlers were preparing for their departure, some conversation took place between the said Cuthbert Grant and the deponent, in which the said Grant said, that if he could have got hold of Mr. Colin Robertson (the agent for Lord Selkirk, by whom the colony had been re-established), he would have got him scalped.—The second day after the massacre, the deponent saw, in the Government House, one François Fernin Boucher, a Canadian, the son of a tavern keeper at Montreal, then in the service of the North-West Company, who was armed, and acted under the orders of the said Cuthbert Grant, by whom he was employed to conduct away the colonists as far as the Frog Plains. The deponent was well acquainted with the said Cuthbert Grant as well as with the said Fraser, having become acquainted with them as clerks of the North-West Company, and been frequently with them. They were generally stationed as clerks at Fort *Qui Appelle*; they are natural children of the partners in the North-West Company, and have been educated in Lower Canada, were they received as good an education as young men intended for mercantile business generally do. In the hurry and confusion which succeeded the massacre, the deponent could get no assistance for his wound, and it was not till two days

after, that two Indians were kind enough to dress it. When the attack was made on Governor Semple, as above-mentioned, there was an encampment of Sautoux and Cree Indians opposite to Fort Douglass. These Indians took no part whatever in the hostility which had been evinced against the colony, nor in any of the atrocities which were perpetrated for its destruction. On the contrary, they lamented the fate of Governor Semple, and those murdered with him, hardly less than the colonists themselves, and were anxious to shew their good disposition towards the colony, by every act of kindness in their power. They assisted in bringing some of the dead bodies of those who had been murdered to Fort Douglass, and in burying them: their conduct, in this respect, corresponded with that of all the Indian tribes with whom the colonists had any intercourse from the first establishment of the colony to its destruction, as above mentioned. All these tribes were invariably kind towards the colony, and seemed well pleased at its establishment. The troubles and disasters which were experienced by the colony, were occasioned by the jealousy and hostility of the North-West Company, and no person on the spot doubted that the atrocities which were committed there were the effect of this hostility, and the work of the agents and servants of that Company, under its sanction. The settlers and servants of the colony, to the number of about two hundred souls, were conveyed away from the colony in eight boats; and on the second day after their departure they met Mr. Archibald Norman M'Leod, one of the partners in the North-West Company, and a justice of the peace for the Indian territories, with nine or ten canoes, and one batteau, in which were two pieces of artillery belonging to Lord Selkirk, which had

been stolen the year before from the colony ; and his men were, some of them, armed with muskets which had been stolen at the same time. The number of men with said M'Leod was about one hundred, all of them armed, and among them were a number of the half-breeds, and he was accompanied by Alexander M'Kenzie, James Leith, John M'Donald, Hugh M'Gillis, John Duncan Campbell, John Haldane, James Hughes, and Thomas M'Murray, partners in the North-West Company. Upon the approach of the said canoes to the boats in which the settlers were, the war-whoop was set up, and inquiries, in the most insulting manner and abusive language were made, whether Mr. Robertson and Governor Semple were in the boats. After these inquiries, the said M'Leod ordered the settlers ashore, and caused a general search to be made, in their trunks, boxes, and effects, and took out of them all the books and papers which could be found, and among these, some books and papers which had belonged to Governor Semple. After this search was made, the said M'Leod caused the said boats to go to a place called Netley Creek, about one or two miles further down Red River, where he made prisoners, Michael Heden, Patrick Corcoran, Daniel M'Kay, John Pritchard, and the deponent, who were in the boats of the colonists. A general encampment was made at this place, and while the people were so encamped, a part of the persons so engaged in the massacre of Governor Semple, and the persons with him, came thither from Fort Douglass, and among these were the said Fraser, and one Bourrassa, also a clerk in the service of the North-West Company. The deponent could not see in what manner they were received, being confined to his tent, but heard at the

time that they were received with open arms by the said M'Leod, and treated with every thing he could give them. The deponent and his fellow-prisoners were afterwards placed by the said M'Leod, under the guard of these murderers, and even detained some days at the same place, till the said M'Leod went to Fort Douglass to make some arrangements, and then returned. Upon his return, the said M'Leod sent the deponent and his fellow-prisoners to Point au Foudre, and some days after arrived there himself, bringing with him the wall-pieces, and the deponent believes also the artillery and muskets of the colony, which, after the massacre, had fallen into the hands of Cuthbert Grant and his party. He then took charge of the whole party, and came with them to a trading post of the North-West Company, called Fort William. The morning of their departure, the deponent was put in irons, and all his clothes were taken from him, together with his watch, and a pocket case of mathematical instruments; and in this situation he was placed on the top of the baggage, in the canoe, without any attention being paid to his wound, and was conveyed to Fort William. After his arrival there, he was put in confinement in a place that had been used as a privy, into which light was not admitted, except through crevices between the logs, of which the building was constructed, and in which an intolerable stench prevailed. In this place the deponent was confined twenty days, at the expiration of which time he was sent to Montreal.—The deponent further saith, that on their way to Fort William, when within a few days journey of Lac à la Pluie, the deponent slept near the tent of one Campbell, a partner in the North-West Company, when several of the partners in the same Company, viz.

Alexander M'Donell, Hugh M'Gillis, and others were standing at a fire near where the deponent lay, and engaged in conversation; the deponent over-heard part of their conversation, in which the said Alexander M'Donell said, "The sending down of the half-breeds" "was certainly carrying things to an extremity." And he afterwards said (as if by way of accounting for what had happened), "but it can be said that those people" (meaning Governor Semple and the persons with him) "went out to attack them" (meaning the half-breeds), "and met their fate." The said Alexander M'Donell asked the said M'Gillis, (who had come up with the said M'Leod,) what his plan for the destruction of the settlement at Red River had been; the said M'Gillis answered that his plan was to attack the fort (meaning Fort Douglass), immediately, to which the said Alexander M'Donell replied, "If you had, they would have killed" "one half of you." The said M'Gillis then asked the said Alexander M'Donell what had been his plan, to which the said Alexander M'Donell answered, it was to starve the fort (meaning Fort Douglass), as they, (meaning the persons in the fort) had only four bags of pemican. The conversation between the said persons afterwards turned upon Lord Selkirk's intention to visit Red River by the way of Fond du Lac, when the said Alexander M'Donell said, "The half-breeds will take" "him while he is asleep, early in the morning." And he afterwards said, "They," (meaning, as the deponent understood, the North-West Company), "can get" "Bostonois," (meaning an Indian of the half-breed, well known for his crimes,) "to shoot him." In the course of the same conversation, the deponent heard the word "*stab*" used, but cannot say with reference to whom. The next morning the deponent told what he

had heard to the said Patrick Corcoran, and afterwards mentioned it to Michael Heden, both of them his fellow-prisoners.

(Signed) JOHN BOURKE.

Sworn at Montreal, 16th day of

September, 1816, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS M'CORD, J. P.

[C. C.]

Deposition of Michael Heden.

Montreal, } MICHAEL HEDEN, late of Fort Douglass
to wit. } at Red River, in the territories of the
Hudson's Bay Company, in North America, now at the
city of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada,
blacksmith, maketh oath, that he was engaged on the
first day of June one thousand eight hundred and
twelve, to serve the Hudson's Bay Company in North
America, as a blacksmith, and in that year went to
Hudson's Bay, where he remained till the following
year, when he went to the settlement formed by the
Earl of Selkirk at Red River aforesaid, and remained
there until the said settlement was broken up and
destroyed by the agents and servants of the North-West
Company, in the summer of the year one thousand
eight hundred and fifteen, and in the autumn of the
same year returned with new supplies, and another
body of settlers to Red River aforesaid. That in the
latter end of the winter, and in the spring of the present
year, information was received at Fort Douglass aforesaid, from Indians and Canadians, that the North-West

Company were collecting Indians of the half-breed, being the bastard children of the partners and servants of that company by Indian women, from their different trading posts, and were forming them into a body at their trading post called Fort *Qui Appelle*, which was then under the charge of Alexander M'Donell, one of the partners in the said North-West Company, assisted by one Grant and one Fraser, both of them Indians of the said half-breed, and clerks in the service of the said Company, for the purpose of attacking and destroying, a second time, the settlement at Red River aforesaid; and this information was received through so many channels as to leave no doubt of its truth; an almost constant watch was, therefore, kept up, night and day, to discover the approach of any of the parties of the North-West Company.—On the nineteenth day of June, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a man in the watch-house called out to Governor Semple, that a party of horsemen were approaching the said settlement. The governor then went into the watch-house, in order to observe them with a spy-glass, and two persons, Mr. Rogers, a gentleman from England, and Mr. Bourke, a store-keeper in the service of the colony, accompanied him, who also examined the party with a spy-glass.—It was then distinctly perceived by all that a party of horsemen, armed, were approaching the settlement in a hostile manner, and in consequence, Governor Semple desired twenty of his men to follow him towards the horsemen to ascertain what was their object. This hostile party passed Fort Douglass, and entered the settlement below it, for the purpose, it would appear, of making the settlers prisoners, and they had already taken some of them, when observing the approach of Governor Semple and his men, they imme-

diately galloped towards them, and surrounded the governor and his party. They then sent forward one of their number to speak with Governor Semple, and one Boucher, the person selected for the purpose, a Canadian, the son of a tavern keeper at Montreal, who was then a clerk or *engagé*, in the service of the North-West Company, advanced in front of his party, and rode up to Governor Semple.

When he came up to the governor, he desired, in an insolent tone, to know what he was about. The governor desired to know what he, the said Boucher, and his party wanted. The said Boucher said he wanted his fort. The governor desired him to go to his fort;—whereupon the said Boucher said, addressing himself to the said governor, "Why did you destroy our fort, you damned rascal;" the governor then laid hold of the bridle of the said Boucher's horse, saying, "Scoundrel, do you tell me so?"—When these words were uttered, the said Boucher jumped from his horse, and a shot was instantly fired by one of the party of horsemen, by which a person of the name of Holt, a clerk in the service of the colony, who accompanied the governor, and was then standing near him, was killed. The said Boucher then ran to his party, and another shot was fired from the same quarter, by which Governor Semple was wounded. When the said governor received his wound, he immediately cried out to his men, "Do what you can to take care of yourselves," but the persons who accompanied him, instead of seeking their own safety, crowded round the governor to ascertain what injury he had received, and while they were thus collected, in a small body in the centre, the party of horsemen, which had formed a circle around them, fired a general volley amongst them, by which the greater

part were killed on the spot. The persons who remained standing, took off their hats and called for mercy, but in vain; the murderers galloped upon them, and stabbed with spears, and shot, nearly all of them.—The deponent escaped in the confusion to the river side, and crossed the river in a canoe with one Daniel M'Kay, who had also the good fortune to escape, and they both reached the fort in the night.—One Michael Kilkenny, and George Sutherland, also escaped at the same time by swimming over the river, and the lives of two other of the persons who had accompanied Governor Semple, namely, Anthony M'Donell, and John Pritchard, were spared at the intercession of some of the murderers, to whom they were known; all the others, twenty-two in number, were murdered on the spot, and among these were Mr. Rogers, Mr. Wilkinson, secretary to the governor, Mr. Holt, Mr. White, surgeon to the colony, and Mr. M'Lean, the principal settler in the colony. The persons by whom this atrocious massacre was perpetrated, were the bastard half-Indians above mentioned, in the service of the North-West Company, and their Canadian servants, headed by two or three of their clerks; the whole party, between sixty and seventy in number, having been collected from various quarters at the aforesaid trading post, called *Qui Appelle*, and armed, equipped, and dispatched from that post under the orders of Alexander M'Donell above-named. Among the party, the deponent only saw three Indians, and he did not see any of these fire a shot, although he had his eyes upon them a principal part of the time. These three Indians, in the opinion of the deponent, must have been induced to accompany the party, from motives other than that of hostility towards the settlement or settlers, as the Indians of the

different nations, inhabiting and frequenting the country at Red River, had always evinced the most friendly disposition towards the settlement, and lived on the best terms with the settlers. Before, and at the time of the massacre just mentioned, there was an encampment of Indians of the Sautoux and Cree nations, opposite to Fort Douglass:—these Indians not only took no part with the servants of the North-West Company in the perpetration of the massacre, but openly lamented it, and went out with carts to bring in the dead bodies, and assisted in burying those which they brought in, having been prevented by fear from bringing all of them. Those which they did not bring in remained on the ground, a prey for the wild beasts. This deponent afterwards saw many of the said Indians, men and women, wring their hands in distress and shed tears at the departure of the settlers. In the mornings succeeding the massacre, the said Grant, a clerk as aforesaid, in the service of the said North-West Company, with one Fraser, and one Bourrassa, both clerks in the same service, with sixteen or seventeen men, (two or three of whom were Canadians, and the rest bastard half-Indians, also in the service of the said company, being part of the persons by whom the murders of the preceding day had been committed,) came to Fort Douglass, after the manner of conquerors, and insisted upon the immediate abandonment of the fort and settlement. Although the surviving settlers were told that they might carry away all their private property, while that of Lord Selkirk only should be considered prize, yet almost every thing belonging to the private families was in effect plundered. And this deponent was even robbed of his blankets and clothes. A written paper, of the nature of a capitulation, was drawn up between the said Grant and Mr.

M'Donell, who had then the care of the settlement, and this paper, as the deponent was informed, and believes, was signed by the said Grant, as clerk to the North-West Company. Two days after, all the settlers, men, women, and children, to the number of two hundred souls, among whom the deponent was, were compelled by the same party to embark in boats, to be conveyed to the sea-coast. On their second day's journey towards Hudson's Bay, they were met by Archibald Norman M'Leod, Esq. a partner in the North-West Company, one of the house of M'Tavish, M'Gillivrays, and Co. and also a justice of the peace for the Indian territories, with nine or ten canoes, and a batteau, with two pieces of artillery which had been some time before stolen and carried away from Lord Selkirk's settlement at Red River, and having under his command ninety or one hundred men, all armed. When the party with the said M'Leod approached the boats in which the settlers were, they set up the Indian war-whoop, and the said M'Leod inquired whether the "Rascal and scoundrel, Robertson" (meaning a gentleman in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, by whom the settlement, after its destruction in the summer of one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, had been re-established,) was in the boats, and being told he was not, he then inquired whether Mr. Semple was in them, and was informed of his fate.—The said M'Leod afterwards compelled all the settlers to go ashore, and caused them to be detained there two days, although they had not provisions sufficient for a quarter part of their journey to Hudson's Bay, and during this detention caused their baggage to be searched, and every article they had to be examined. In this search the said settlers were plundered by the persons acting under the orders of the said M'Leod, of

some trunks and papers which had belonged to Governor Semple, and some books of accounts belonging to the colony, which some of the said settlers had found means to carry off with them. The said M'Leod questioned the deponent as to the particulars of what had happened at Red River, and, after hearing them, said, "they are all lies," and that he would have the deponent taken to Fort William, and put in irons to make him tell the truth. He then put into the deponent's hands a paper, purporting to be a subpoena, requiring the deponent to appear and give evidence against John Bourke, at Montreal, of which paper a copy is subjoined, and told the deponent that under that paper he would be conveyed a prisoner to Montreal. The said M'Leod, at the same time, made four other persons prisoners, *viz* Daniel M'Kay, John Bourke, John Pritchard, and Patrick Corcoran, and suffered all the others to proceed on their journey to Hudson's Bay. While the boats, conveying the settlers, were detained as aforesaid, a part of the murderers, Canadians and half-Indians, who had been engaged in the massacre of Governor Semple and his party as aforesaid, and among the number the above named Fraser, came down from Fort Douglass to meet the said M'Leod, and were received by him with open arms, and treated with liquors. These murderers were immediately employed by the said M'Leod to guard the deponent and the others whom he had detained as prisoners, and to convey them as far as Point à Foudre, while the said M'Leod went further on, for the purpose, as this deponent believes, of visiting Fort Douglass aforesaid, and making arrangements there. That the deponent, and the other prisoners with him, remained two days at Point à Foudre, in the custody of the said murderers, among whom were one Baudry, and one De

Lorme; and, at the expiration of that time, the said M'Leod arrived, and taking the command of the whole party, caused the deponent and his companions, some in irons, and some unfettered, to be conveyed to a trading post of the North-West Company, called Fort William. That the deponent heard John Bourke, one of the prisoners conveyed with him as aforesaid, relate some particulars of a conversation which took place between some partners in the North-West Company which he had over-heard previous to their arrival at Fort William, while those engaged in the conversation thought him asleep. That by this conversation it appeared to this deponent that there was a settled design in those partners to destroy the Earl of Selkirk, who was then on his way to the late settlement at Red River, and had halted in the neighbourhood of Fort William, and learning that one Chatelain, who was employed in the service of Lord Selkirk, and going up with him, was then with his men, on an Island about seven miles from Fort William, this deponent became extremely anxious to convey to Lord Selkirk, through Chatelain, intelligence of his danger. The deponent, therefore, found means, during a storm, in a small canoe, and at great risk, to visit Chatelain, with whom he had some communication. That, previous to this visit, no warrant of commitment had been issued against the deponent, but when it became known that he had had a communication with Chatelain, he was abused and ill-treated, and a warrant was made out against him by William M'Gillivray, Esq. the principal partner in the North-West Company, one of the house of M'Tavish, M'Gillivrays and Co. and a justice of the peace for the Indian territories, under which the deponent has been brought down and lodged in the gaol at Montreal,

where he now is. That after the said warrant was signed by the said William M'Gillivray the deponent was confined in a small room, in which there was a privy, without a window, and into which no light was received, except through crevices between the logs composing the walls of the said building, and into this provisions were brought to him, and laid on the seat of the privy, to be used by him as a table. In this confinement the deponent was kept, in the hottest part of summer, during ten days, at the expiration of which time he was put into a canoe, to be conveyed to Montreal. That while the deponent was at Fort William aforesaid, he saw some of the murderers, who had come down with him, well received by partners in the North-West Company, who were then there.

(Signed) MICHAEL HEDEN.

Sworn at Montreal, 16th September,

1816, before me,

(Signed) THOMAS M'CORD, J. P.



Here follows a copy of the paper purporting to be a subpoena above referred to.

Indian Territory.

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To Patrick Cockrane and Michael Heden,

We command you, and every of you, that all business being laid aside and all excuses ceasing, you do, in your proper persons, appear before the Justices of our Court of King's Bench, in and for the district of

Montreal, assigned and appointed by an Act of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain, to hear and determine, all crimes and offences committed in the said Indian Territories, at the Term of the said court, to be holden in the City of Montreal, in the District of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, on the First Day of September next, at the hour of Ten in the forenoon, to testify all and singular those things which you or any of you know concerning a certain accusation, against J. P. Bourke, for Felony: And this you and every of you are in no wise to omit, under the Penalty of One Hundred Pounds, Halifax currency, and all other Penalties by Law inflicted for such neglect:—Witness, Archibald Norman M'Leod, Esq. one of the justices assigned to keep the peace, &c. in and for the said Indian Territory. Given at Fort Alexander, the Ninth Day of July, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixteen, and in the Fifty-sixth Year of His Majesty's Reign.

(Signed) A. N. M'LEOD, J. P. J. T.

FINIS.